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ABSTRACT

This document examines and compares how policies for minority education in Great Britain and Sweden have developed over the last 25 years. The term "policy" is used here broadly and includes not only central but also regional decisions, and written documents as well as administration, interpretation, and application of policies. The research shows that during the initial stage the authorities in both countries encouraged immigration and only later realized the implications for the education systems. Both countries have emphasized the acquisition of the majority language by the minorities. In Sweden, the role of the mother tongue in education is a major issue and all children are entitled to mother tongue teaching. In Great Britain, however, the mother tongues of the minorities have normally not been included in the curriculum, although some projects have started during the last few years. Multicultural aspects of education for all children have been more emphasized in Great Britain than in Sweden. Within the devolved British education system local policy patterns have developed differently, whereas in Sweden the policy pattern is more uniform. And finally, a trend toward policies for minority education on a supernational level in Europe has been observed in the European Economic Community Directive on education of migrant workers' children. (KH)

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Studies in Comparative and International Education

No 7

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POLICIES FOR MINORITY EDUCATION

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF BRITAIN AND SWEDEN

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POLICIES FOR MINORITY EDUCATION
A Comparative Study of Britain and Sweden

ANN-MARGRET FRIS

Studies in Comparative and International Education
No 7

Institute of International Education
University of Stockholm Sweden

A Dissertation for the Doctor's Degree
in Social Sciences
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ABSTRACT

The aim of the study is to examine how policies for minority education in Britain and Sweden have developed over the last twenty-five years. Policy has been used in a broad sense, including not only central but also regional and local decisions, not only written documents but also administration, interpretation and application of policies. During the initial stage the authorities in both countries encouraged immigration and only later did they realize the implications for the education systems.

The acquisition of the majority language by the minorities has been emphasized in both countries. The role of the mother tongue in education is a major issue in Sweden, where all children are entitled to mother tongue teaching. In Britain the mother tongues of the minorities have normally not been included in the curriculum but some projects have started during the last few years. Multi-cultural aspects of education for all children have been more emphasized in Britain than in Sweden. Within the devolved British education system local policy patterns have developed differently whereas in Sweden the policy pattern is more uniform.

A trend towards policies for minority education on a supernational level in Europe has been observed in the EEC Directive on education of migrant workers' children.

Descriptors:
Bilingual Education, Comparative Education, Educational Policy, Language Planning, Immigrants, Resource Allocations, Minority Groups, Multilingualism

Ann-Margret Friis
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		Page
Preface		vi
Chapter 1	INTRODUCTION	1
1.1	Some Concepts	1
1.2	Recent Migration in Europe	2
1.3	Current Development in Education	3
1.4	The Choice of Countries for the Study	6
1.5	Purpose of the Study	10
1.6	Method of Comparison	11
1.7	Historical Background of Language Policies	12
1.8	Two Dimensions of Policies for Language Education	15
1.8.1	Foreign Language Learning	15
1.8.2	Mother Tongue in Education	16
Part I	The Case Study of Sweden	
Chapter 2	THE EDUCATION SYSTEM	21
2.1	The School Structure	21
2.2	Educational Reform Work	22
2.3	Central, Regional and Local Authorities	23
2.4	Administration of the Individual Schools	24
2.5	The Curriculum and the Teachers	24
Chapter 3	NATIONAL MINORITIES IN SWEDEN	26
3.1	Introduction	26
3.2	The Population of Tornedalen	26
3.3	The Lapps	30
Chapter 4	THE TRANSFORMATION OF SWEDEN INTO A MULTI-LINGUAL SOCIETY	35
4.1	Background	35
4.2	Some Current Statistics	39
Chapter 5	THE EVOLUTION OF A MINORITY AND IMMIGRANT POLICY	45
5.1	State Commission Reports	45
5.1.1	Labour Market Policy	46
5.1.2	Schooling Abroad and at Home	49
5.1.3	The Commission on Immigration	54
5.1.3.1	Reports	54
5.1.3.2	Goals and Objectives of the Immigrant Policy	58

		Page
Chapter 6	CURRENT POLICY ON THE ROLE OF THE MOTHER TONGUE IN EDUCATION	62
	6.1 Working Group on Immigrant Education	62
	6.1.1 Pre-School Education	62
	6.1.2 The Comprehensive School and the Upper Secondary School	63
	6.1.3 Teacher Training	64
	6.2 Trends for the Future	66
	6.2.1 The National Level	66
	6.2.2 The Local Level	67
	6.2.3 Diversified Education	68
	6.2.4 A New Commission on Immigration	69
Part II	The Case Study of Britain	
Chapter 7	THE EDUCATION SYSTEM	73
	7.1 Devolved Administration	73
	7.2 Central Authorities	74
	7.3 Local Education Authorities	75
	7.4 The Schools	75
	7.5 Administration of Individual Schools	77
	7.6 School Examinations	78
	7.7 The Curriculum and the Teachers	78
Chapter 8	NATIONAL MINORITIES IN ENGLAND	80
	8.1 The Welsh and their Language in Education	80
	8.2 The Schools Council Bilingual Education Project	83
	8.3 Prospects of the Future	85
Chapter 9	THE MINORITY POPULATION OF MULTI-ETHNIC BRITAIN	88
	9.1 Background and Legislation	88
	9.2 Immigration Statistics	90
Chapter 10	THE EVOLUTION OF A BRITISH MINORITY AND IMMIGRANT POLICY	96
	10.1 General Policy Issues	96
	10.1.1 The 1976 Race Relations Act	101
	10.2 Policy in Education	102
	10.2.1 The Department of Education and Science	102
	10.2.2 Teacher Training	107
	10.2.3 Local Education Authorities	111
	10.2.4 Organizations outside the Education System	114

		Page
Chapter 11	CURRENT LANGUAGE POLICY IN EDUCATION	115
11.1	Education in Schools - a Policy Document	115
11.2	Recommendations	117
11.3	Supplementary Mother Tongue Teaching	118
11.4	The EEC Directive	119
11.5	Welsh in Education in Wales	122
Part III	A Comparative Analysis	
Chapter 12	CONDITIONS FOR COMPARISON OF POLICIES	127
12.1	The Multi-Cultural Societies	127
12.2	The Immigration Period	129
12.3	National Minorities in the Two Countries	132
12.4	Minority Pupils in Swedish and British Schools	134
12.5	Educational Resources for Immigrant Education	136
12.6	Immigration versus Emigration	140
12.7	The Minority Populations	143
12.8	Regional Concentration	145
Chapter 13	EDUCATION OF MINORITIES	149
13.1	General Characteristics	149
13.2	The Language Problem	155
13.2.1	The Acquisition of the Majority Languages	155
13.2.2	The Role of the Mother Tongue	159
13.3	Education for a Multi-Cultural Society	163
13.4	National Minorities and Bilingualism	165
13.5	Policy Effects - Research Implications	168
13.5.1	Background	168
13.5.2	Research in Education	169
Chapter 14	DISCUSSION OF OUTCOMES	173
14.1	Comparability of the two Policies	173
14.2	Similarities of the Two Policies	174
14.3	Differences in the Two Policies	175
14.4	Why Differences	175
14.5	Additional Comments	178
BIBLIOGRAPHY		180
	References	180
	Related Literature	190

Preface

In the 1970s the development of a national policy for the education of minority children was a major issue at the National Board of Education. For several years I was involved there in the administration of research and development projects aimed at elucidating problems in this field. My work gave me new aspects of language teaching and language learning which were of interest to me as a language teacher. When planning this study I tried to combine several fields of interest - national policies and minority education, both in Britain and in Sweden.

My advisor, Professor Sixten Marklund, whose field of research is educational reform work in Sweden during the last three decades, has been of great help to me. He has given me his expert advice as well as encouraged me to carry on my work, when I have met with difficulties. Professor Torsten Husén and Doctor Ingemar Fägerlind have taken part in discussions of my work.

In Britain I have taken part in several in-service training activities for educational administrators and teachers involved in minority education. I have received scholarships from the Council of Europe to take part in them. I have discussed with Her Majesty's Inspectors, headteachers and teachers of minority children in Britain. I am truly grateful for all their help.

Lena Norrman at the Institute of International Education has typed my study in a most professional way. My husband Bengt and my two daughters Katarina and Gunilla have shown me great patience during the period when I have been working on the study.

Stockholm August 1982

Ann-Margret Fris

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 SOME CONCEPTS

In order to facilitate the reading of this study I want to make some introductory comments on the different concepts used in the title. The brief definitions will show how the concepts have been used in the study.

Policy in a restricted sense stands for the content of extensive political decisions, expressed by parliament and government in laws, statutes, budget decisions and corresponding kinds of materials. In this study, however, policy has been used in a broader sense, including not only central but also regional and local decisions and standpoints, not only the documents given but also administration and interpretation of policies - i.e. not only the goals and the aims but also their practical implications.

Minorities are treated here as groups not belonging to the majority population of a country. They are categorized into two groups - national minorities and immigrants - the latter group being the major concern of the study.

Education has many aspects. Our focus of interest is the specific education offered to minority children and young people up to the age of eighteen or nineteen within the framework of the education system.

Our comparative study includes two countries, Britain and Sweden, and within these what, according to our delimitation, is seen as "comparable elements" of the two education systems, related to minority education.

First, however, a general introduction will give a background to our study of policies for minority education.

1.2 RECENT MIGRATION IN EUROPE

Immigration into the highly industrialized countries in Western and Northern Europe started after the Second World War, mainly in the latter part of the 1950s. It increased steadily in the 1960s but has decreased gradually in the 1970s. The reason why most people left their countries of origin was their hope to find job opportunities and a better future for themselves and their families in the industrialized countries. The economic situation had improved in these countries to such a degree that a gap had developed between them and other less industrialized countries. Active measures were taken by the authorities or by companies in some of these countries in order to induce people to come, since they needed industrial workers. In the early years of this immigration nothing or very little was planned for their reception by central or local authorities. A great number of immigrants have been refugees, who had to leave their countries of origin for political reasons. They may run the risk of being imprisoned if they stay in their native countries. Groups, such as the Asians in Uganda, have been forced to leave their countries.

Naturally there are people who live in or move to foreign countries for other reasons than the two mentioned here. Commerce, trade and industry have become international and many enterprises are multi-national, with their staff employed by international organizations like the UN and by international and national development aid agencies. But these groups are of another category than the refugees and the migrant workers. They have left their countries voluntarily, and they can go back if they want. Their linguistic situation does not often cause them any trouble. In the circles where most of them live it is enough to know one of the international languages. It would, however, not be true to say that no linguistic problems exist among them. Their children might run the risk of slow and incomplete development of their mother tongues. And if these people either do not find time to or do not bother to learn the local language, they might become isolated from the indigenous population.

It is impossible to cover all aspects of language education policies for minority groups in this study, and certain categories of minorities will not be considered. As mentioned there are several reasons for recent immigration into Western and Northern Europe. Immigration also comprises different categories of immigrants. The largest group is the emigrant workers. Smaller but still important is the group of political refugees.

The two groups left their countries for different reasons but both groups have the same aim for their stay in the new home countries: they want to find work, security and a good future for themselves and their families. They are consequently migrant workers all of them. This study will concentrate on these two groups of immigrants and their education which might be illustrated in the following way:

Table 1. Migrant Groups

Categories of migrants	Reasons for migration I Voluntary migration	II Forced migration
1. Migrant workers	1:I	1:II
2. Trade, commerce, multi-national work	2:I	-
3. International aid workers	3:I	-
4. Academics	4:I	-

Theimmigrants to be dealt with in this study belong to the categories 1:I and 1:II. Category 1:I consists of immigrants who left their original countries, because they hoped to find better economic conditions in their new countries and category 1:II is the refugees. The categories 2, 3 and 4 are less interesting here. They can return to their original countries if or when they want, which explains why the table does not contain any categories 2:II, 3:II or 4:II.

1.3 CURRENT DEVELOPMENT IN EDUCATION

Since the end of World War II great efforts have been made to expand education both in industrialized and developing countries. Over the last twenty-five years great changes have taken place in compulsory schooling in most Western countries. The period of mandatory school attendance has been prolonged. In the 1960s terms like "recurrent education" or "life-long education" began to emerge. One of the basic ideas behind this evolution was the conviction that education is a human right for all citizens. In this respect the expansion of the school-system has been closely linked to democratization of society at large. The leading view was that if education was made

compulsory and offered free of charge, all pupils would have equal opportunities to make their future lives successful both from a personal point of view and from the point of view of society, in that they would be able to make a good contribution to its further development.

In Sweden the last three decades, 1950-1980, have been a period of reforms within the formal educational system at all levels from pre-school level to the universities. And there have also been considerable changes in different kinds of informal adult education in order to expand and diversify it. The same evolution can be noticed in most industrial countries both of the Western and the socialist type. Development in Britain has focused on the transformation of compulsory education at the secondary level into a comprehensive system. This has not been completed yet but about 80 per cent of all pupils are estimated to take part in comprehensive education programmes. Further education has expanded so that a majority of students from the age groups who leave compulsory education can be enrolled.

The educational system has been regarded by politicians as an instrument of national, economic and social development, especially in the 1960s. In that decade investments in education in the countries of the Organization for Economic and Cultural Development (OECD) took an increasing part of the gross national product. As can be seen from official statistics, for instance from compilations of different United Nations (UN) agencies, the education expenditures in some countries doubled and even tripled. All this was based on a belief in education as a strong vehicle for economic growth and social change. Education was also seen as a promotor of peace, of communication and co-operation, between peoples and nations. In the 1970s this optimism had gradually diminished. The educational system is no longer to the same degree regarded as a tool for changing society and bringing about greater equality of life chances. A school system does not operate in a vacuum, it reflects the social and economic framework of society. This has been found in many studies of the interrelationship of school and society. In the comparative evaluation study carried out by the International Association for Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA), the following has been stated:

> "The relation between home background and achievement showed up very strongly in some countries in the between-schools analyses ... Some schools in these countries obviously differed markedly from others in the home backgrounds from which their students were drawn and in the associated achievements. The removal of these differences is a concern not so much of the educational policy-maker as of the town-planner and the social services" (Walker, 1976, p. 239).

Conclusions of this kind from many studies certainly contributed to subdue the general post-war optimism of education as a promotor of equality. Inflation and reduced economic growth have made politicians in different countries more reluctant to increase the part of the national budget spent on education. In some countries this part has been reduced. As unemployment grows and hits harder on young people who have not yet gained a foothold on the labour market, they, too, have become more hesitant to commit themselves to studies which they are not sure can lead to employment.

Even if less resources have been allocated to the school-systems during the last few years and the optimism concerning education as a change agent in society have decreased, immigrants have become part of an educational system which has been involved in a dynamic development, a school in change. Their entrance into the educational system has also influenced this development. Special efforts have been made to satisfy the special needs of minority children. These measures will be dealt with later. Some general characteristics will be pointed to here.

Some of the most important trends which can be found in most industrialized countries in Western Europe, can be systematized in the following way:

Some of the most important trends which can be found in all industrialized countries, can be systematized in the following way:

- the period of compulsory school attendance has been prolonged
- the organizational differentiation has been postponed
- the system of parallel schools at secondary level has to a great extent been replaced by a comprehensive system
- an increasing number of young people continue their studies after the period of compulsory school attendance
- different measures have been taken to give new groups of students access to higher studies
- educational authorities and labour market authorities have tried to co-ordinate education and work into a system of recurrent education.

1.4 THE CHOICE OF COUNTRIES FOR THE STUDY

Two countries, Sweden and Britain, will be studied and compared. Although Scotland is part of Britain, the specific characteristics of education there will not be taken into consideration. There are several reasons why Sweden and Britain have been chosen for the study. From the 1950s both countries have undergone similar changes as a result of immigration. Two of the most important issues are the following:

- both countries have large groups with languages other than the official one
- the different ethnic immigrant groups have brought their inherited traditions, value systems and religious beliefs into their new countries.

The changes led to great demands on the education system.

Education of minorities, above all language education, has taken place earlier both in Sweden and Britain. Sweden has a national minority, the Lapps, whose language and culture widely differ from those of the majority population, and a Finnish-speaking minority. The Welsh in Britain form a linguistic and cultural minority. Policy problems in the education of these national minorities are old and well-known. These minorities are of interest for this study as they form fundamentally important parts of the experiences on which the authorities of today build their policies for the education of newly-arrived immigrant groups. Some recent changes in educational policies for the long term minority inhabitants might also be attributed to experiences from policy formation for the immigrants. This mutual dependence of the two categories of minorities - the national long term ones and the immigrants - is the reason why the education of the most important national minorities - the Welsh, the Lapps and the Finnish-speaking minority - will be discussed in the case-studies of the two countries. Although of great importance the national minorities will not be our main focus of interest here. Our major concern is with policy regarding education of immigrants.

The immigrants in Sweden have come from many different countries. The majority of them had no knowledge of Swedish before they came to Sweden. The following table shows the major emigrant countries at the turn of the year 1974/75. A total of 101 citizenships, however, existed among the immigrants.

Table 2. In Sweden registered aliens at the turn of the year 1974/75 according to age and citizensnip in per cent

	Age 0-3 N=38458	4-6 N=27370	7-9 N=25785	10-12 N=20943	13-15 N=17015	16-18 N=14945	19- N=257242	Total N=401158
Denmark	6.0	6.5	8.4	10.2	10.7	10.8	7.9	8.0
Finland	42.3	46.9	49.7	51.1	50.1	48.5	44.7	45.7
Norway	5.7	5.9	6.6	6.6	7.2	7.4	6.9	6.7
Greece	5.1	4.9	3.8	3.5	4.1	4.7	4.4	4.4
Italy	1.7	1.8	1.7	1.4	1.4	1.3	1.6	1.6
Yugoslavia	10.8	11.1	9.0	7.8	8.3	9.1	10.3	10.1
Poland	1.1	0.8	0.7	0.9	1.2	1.5	2.0	1.7
Portugal	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.5
Spain	1.2	1.0	0.9	0.6	0.8	0.5	0.9	0.9
Great Britain	2.0	1.8	1.8	1.6	1.2	1.2	1.6	1.7
Czechoslovakia	0.9	0.7	0.7	0.8	0.9	0.7	1.1	1.0
Germany	4.6	5.5	5.7	4.9	3.8	3.5	4.2	4.4
Hungary	1.0	0.8	0.7	0.7	0.8	0.8	1.4	1.2
Austria	1.2	1.4	1.4	1.1	0.6	0.6	1.0	1.0
USA	1.1	1.4	1.5	1.4	1.5	1.2	1.8	1.6
Korea	3.2	1.6	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5
Turkey	2.2	1.5	1.7	2.0	2.0	2.5	1.1	1.6
Others	9.6	6.1	5.2	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.6	8.0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Per cent of all	9.6	6.8	6.3	5.2	4.2	3.7	64.1	100

N= number of aliens

(Förslag om åtgärder ... DSU 1975:13 pp. 28, 29)

We have already mentioned that most immigrants did not have any command of Swedish on their arrival in Sweden. Only immigrants from Finland, who had belonged to the Swedish-speaking minority there, mastered the language. According to recent statistics less than 6.5 per cent of the Finnish population have Swedish as their mother tongue. About 20 per cent of the Finnish immigrants in Sweden mastered Swedish when they arrived. Immigrants from Denmark and Norway do not have Swedish as their mother tongue, but as the Scandinavian languages are closely related to each other, the language problems are easier to overcome for them than they are for Finnish-speaking immigrants and for immigrants form non-Nordic countries.

Among the many countries, where immigrants have come from in Britain, some countries dominate, namely India, Pakistan and the West Indies. In these countries the English language has played an important role for a long time and this would perhaps imply that language problems are less pronounced among immigrants in Britain than in Sweden and consequently make a comparative study of the two countries less meaningful. A recent national survey (Smith, 1976) has shown, however, that this is not the case. It is stated there that although the mother tongue of virtually all West Indians is a variety of English, this language differs so significantly from standard English that West Indian children have serious language problems in education. In the case of the Asians the language situation is still more serious, as most of them have learnt English only as a second language or have not learnt any English at all. In the study the researchers state that the native languages of the Asians are fundamentally different from English. They argue that it is much harder for an Urdu-speaking person to learn English than it is for a speaker of another European language to do so. The study shows that among men Pakistanis are the least fluent in English, African Asians are the most fluent, and Indians are half way between. The same order is repeated for women, but the fluency of the women is much lower than that of the men. The six groups are arranged in order from the most to the least fluent as follows:

Table 3. Fluency in English within six immigrant groups

	% speaking English only slightly or not at all	
	Men	Women
African Asian	19	41
Indian	26	60
Pakistani	43	77

(Op. cit. p. 44)

As will be dealt with in chapter 9.2 about 80 per cent of the Indians and West Indians and 70 per cent of Pakistanis and Bangladeshis had arrived in Britain before 1968. More than half of the African Asians had arrived later than 1968, mainly from Uganda in East Africa. The fact that most of them had been involved in trade and commerce there accounts for their higher fluency. The poor language knowledge among women may be explained by inherited traditions whereby women lead a life which is restricted to the

family environment. This has implications for children who do not get any training in speaking English until they start school. The cut down expenditure (cf. 7.4) for urban aid programmes over the last few years also means that fewer minority children will be offered nursery schooling and consequently fewer opportunities of language training.

The knowledge of English among the Asian informants of the survey was also analysed by age and sex with the following results:

Table 4. Fluency in English - the Asian Group

	% of men aged				% of women aged			
	16-24	25-34	35-44	45+	16-24	25-34	35-44	45+
Informant speaks English:								
Fluently	48	52	41	24	41	20	13	11
Fairly fluently	29	28	29	19	25	17	14	4
Slightly	20	16	22	35	23	37	38	25
Not at all	[illegible]	2	6	19	11	21	33	57
Not stated	3	2	3	3	1	4	2	2

(Op. cit. p. 207)

As will be dealt with later there are no official British educational statistics available of immigrant school-children. The researcher states in his report that at the time when immigration occurred there was no programme directed towards helping immigrants to learn the language skills that they would need in Britain. He argues in the following way:

> "Some effort and resources are now being channelled into the provision of language training, but these programmes reach rather a small number of people. We should therefore expect to find that there is a substantial language problem remaining to be tackled, and the survey confirms that this is so" (op. cit. p. 42).

So even if the language problems for the immigrants in Sweden and Britain are not of the same kind, there should not be any doubt that immigrants in both countries meet with considerable language problems. Measures have been taken in different fields in both countries to improve the situation for the immigrants. This study, however, will focus on language education.

1.5 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of the study can be specified in the following four basic problems:

- How have the immigrant policies in education in Sweden and Britain developed over the last twenty-five years?
- What are the salient features of these policies in the two countries?
- How are the policies put into practice?
- What are the main similarities and differences between the two countries?

The two aspects - policy development and current practice - will be brought up in the case-studies in parts 1 and 2, where they will be dealt with as parts of the overall immigrant policies in the two countries. In part 3 the two aspects will form the basis for a comparative analysis. Central and local policy will be focused by means of goal statements, legislation, regulations and instruments for policy enforcement.

The following circumstances and preliminary observations are of importance for our efforts to find answers to the questions mentioned above:

- During a fairly long time in the initial stage of the great wave of immigration the governments and other decision-making bodies in the two countries not only allowed but also encouraged immigration without fully realizing what demands such measures would make on the educational systems.
- Among the needs of the first generation of immigrants education seems to have been taken into account rather late. Other social welfare needs were met earlier, at that time evidently regarded as more important by responsible authorities.
- Both countries claim to have developed a national policy on immigrant education. Instruments of policy enforcement are of interest for policy applications.
- All states in Western and Northern Europe are involved in migration. Partly as a result of this situation trends towards policy formation on a supernational level can be observed in organizations like the EEC and the Council of Europe. A policy on this level might enhance the possibilities of the national governments to form their policies exclusively on conditions existing in their own countries. It may also in the long run imply restrictions of the exclusive right of independent states to make their own laws.

Current policies for minority education, here focusing on language education, should be seen in a wider perspective, where the historical development of nations and the role of languages in the creation of nations are of great importance. Before we proceed to the case-studies of Sweden and Britain in parts 1 and 2 of this study, we will therefore give a short general background of language policies as a universal problem (section 1.7).

1.6 METHOD OF COMPARISON

The study will be focused on macro-level problems. Descriptions and analyses will be made of how policies in immigrant education have gradually developed in the two countries over the last twenty-five years and the current application of those policies. Two comparative education researchers Noah and Eckstein (1969) distinguish between the two main approaches which they call controlled experimentation and controlled investigations. They argue:

> "However, if the prospects for controlled experimentation in the social sciences are necessarily poor, the same is not true of the prospects for controlled investigation. Controlled investigation is, in essence, the comparative method. It is used extensively even in some of the natural sciences (for example, astronomy) where experimentation may be ruled out by the nature of the material studied. By careful choice of comparable situations, the investigator seeks to isolate the effect on the phenomena of variations in identified factors" (op.cit. p. 104).

In the natural sciences, they say, the most frequent method is controlled experimentation. The experiment aims at isolating the effect of one clearly identified factor and all other factors are kept constant or otherwise controlled. In the social sciences, including the study of education systems, controlled experiments are seldom possible. Experimental periods must usually comprise many years and the validity of the findings is often affected by the experimental situation. It is also difficult to repeat the same experiment as conditions change too rapidly. In the case of this study it is impossible to imagine experiments. Instead I have tried to identify and isolate the different components which together form the policies of minority education in the two countries. Those components will be compared and analysed on the basis of the existing educational policy for the school system and the total immigrant policy. For policy features which only exist in one of the countries the analysis will be built on the specific circumstances of that country. The same method is used in the study when different measures of putting the policy issues into practice are analysed. This is

the way I have interpreted the concept of controlled investigation in my study. The four research problems mentioned in the previous section form the basis of the analysis.

Noah and Eckstein also state that the value of studying foreign education lies in an opportunity to improve the understanding of one's own country. Every nation's education system is an attempt to solve a general set of social, political and historical problems. I think these are important aspects of comparative studies. We should also be conscious of the risk of a priori judgements and biases, either in attempts by the investigator to make deliberate efforts to prove the superiority or inferiority of his own country or in an unconscious application of data and conclusions based on personal values. Therefore we will not try to prove that policy measures in one of the countries have been more effective or in any sense "better" than those of the other country.

1.7 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF LANGUAGE POLICIES

Very few states have been and still are monolingual. The linguistic situation in many countries may be better understood if we consider some of the ideas underlying the formation of existing states. The idea that each nationality should form a state is fairly young in history. Formerly territories under one administration were not determined by nationality. People felt loyal to different forms of organizations within the state but not necessarily to the state itself. Examples of such organizations were the city-state, the feudal territory and its lord and the religious group. The concept of the European nation-state created by a common language did not appear until about two hundred years ago. The ideal was instead for a very long time the universal world-state which the Roman Empire had set the great example in the Western world. Civilization and political allegiance during the Middle Ages were looked upon as religiously determined. For all the different Christian or Muslim nationalities, only one civilization existed - Christian or Muslim - and only one language for the educated, Latin or Arabic.

In those societies advanced formal education was restricted to an elite, the aim of which was to serve and preserve the existing social order. The choice of teaching language did not cause any problems and these languages were predominant in education for many hundred years - Latin in Christian countries and Arabic in Muslim countries.

Later, in the Renaissance and Enlightenment the ancient Greek and Roman civilizations became the universal norm for all civilized countries of Europe. In the eighteenth century France became a dominating force both politically and culturally in Europe; French civilization was accepted as the model civilization for all educated people in Europe. And as a result of this the French language also became an important ingredient in education.

Not until the end of the 18th century the principle was put forward that people should be educated in their mother tongues, not in the languages of other civilizations or other times. So from that period the nationalization of education went hand in hand with the nationalization of states. The fact that nationalism became a major political issue was caused by a number of developments. The creation of large and centralized states destroyed old feudal loyalties. The secularization of education encouraged the use of vernacular languages and international commerce grew to demand larger territorial units.

The people replaced the king as the centre of the nation under the influence of new theories of the human rights. Language became accepted as the most important characteristic of nationality. Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762-1814), the well-known German philosopher, delivered a series of fourteen lectures at the university of Berlin in 1807 and 1808 "Reden an die deutsche Nation". In these lectures he elaborated his thoughts on the national state, patriotism, public education and language in education. In his twelfth lecture he was probably summing up many people's attitudes when he said:

> "Wie es ohne Zweifel wahr ist, dass allenthalben, wo eine besondere Sprache vorhanden ist, auch besondere Nation vorhanden ist, die das Recht hat, selbständig ihre Angelegenheiten zu besorgen und sich selber zu regieren; so kann man umgekehrt sagen, dass, wie ein Volk aufgehört hat, sich selbst zu regieren, es eben auch schuldig sei, seine Sprache aufzugeben und mit den Überwindern zusammenzufliessen, damit Einheit, innerer Friede und die ganzliche Vergessenheit der Verhältnisse, die nicht mehr sind, entstehe" (Fichte, n.d., p. 201).[1)]

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1) As it is undoubtedly true that in all areas where a specific language exists there is also a specific nation, which has the right to attend to its own affairs and its own government, it could on the other hand be said that, when a nation has ceased to rule itself, it should also be its duty to give up its own language and be united with its conquerors so that unity, interior peace and complete oblivion of the circumstances, which do not exist any more, may arise. (The author's translation.)

In the negotiations at Versailles after World War I linguistic boundaries played an important role when national boundaries came to be defined, especially in Central and Eastern Europe. The Habsburg and Romanov empires disappeared and new nation-states emerged: Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Yugoslavia and Romania, Finland and, for twenty years, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

After World War I nationalism began to develop in Asia and Africa and nationalist leaders such as Atatürk in Turkey and Mahatma Gandhi in India appeared. In the Treaty of Versailles the empires of the defeated powers were dissolved and the League of Nations distributed the African colonies of Germany as mandates to other countries like Great Britain, France and Belgium and the areas in Asia and the Pacific to Japan, Australia and New Zealand.

Many former British colonies like India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka (Ceylon), Burma, Malaysia (Malaya) and Ghana became independent after World War II without serious conflicts. But in other countries there have been long and bitter colonial wars, e.g. in former French colonies - Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea, Tunisia and Algeria and in former Portuguese colonies in Africa - Angola, Moçambique and Guinea-Bissau. Communist powers have supported nationalist movements in Asia and Africa both by helping them to fight against Western capitalist powers and by giving them financial and technical aid. There has been a clash between Russian and Chinese Communism since Chinese Communism turned out to be more national and Mao-Tse-Tung appeared to share with Lenin the place of honour within the Communist movement in China.

If the linguistic situation of the newly independent developing countries is taken into account, it is obvious that multi-lingualism is the rule and that there are few exceptions. The former colonies of the industrialized Western countries were built on the economic and political interests of colonial states and the frontiers went right through and divided ethnic groups and language groups. When the colonies gained independence, this situation still existed and on the whole the new independent states still have the same frontiers as the former colonies. This situation - many different ethnic groups and many different languages - has caused serious difficulties in many developing countries.

Nationalism seems to be one of the major ingredients in the political life of the developing countries. It may be regarded as a unifying factor between different ethnic groups. It would seem, however, as if the establishment of international economic, military and political organizations has contributed to a situation in many parts of the world, where nationalism is not so pronounced any more.

1.8 TWO DIMENSIONS OF POLICIES FOR LANGUAGE EDUCATION

1.8.1 Foreign Language Learning

The policies for language education have two main dimensions. One of them is old, well-known and highly appreciated: the need of language skills and language fluency for communication, between people having the same language as well as between people with different tongues. The other dimension of language policies is new, not so well known and not even always acknowledged: the need of language skills in one's own mother tongue as a prerequisite for personal development, both individually and as a member of society.

Over the last two or three decades many ideas and views on education have changed. To learn a foreign language was formerly regarded as a luxury which was available only to those privileged children who proceeded from primary to secondary education. But in most industrialized countries today foreign language learning is part of the compulsory education of all children. This evolution is not related specifically to immigration or to the existence of different language groups in a country. For language policies in education include both the general language education offered to all pupils and the specific language programme for immigrant and national minority children. Many circumstances have contributed to the situation nowadays where the teaching of modern languages is included in compulsory education in most industrial countries. The nations of the world have become dependent on each other to such an extent as has never before been the case. Many problems are recognized as global, e.g. population growth, pollution and wastage of natural resources. These problems can only be solved internationally. Internationalization affects many areas: economics, trade, politics, culture. As mentioned before the labour market is turning more and more international. Communication media, both in a psychical and physical sense, have made the world smaller. It is possible to go from one part of the world to another in a short period of time and news of important events is available almost everywhere soon after they occur.

The growing realization that the crucial problems of survival are global and can only be solved by co-operation is vital. Growing international interdependence calls for the internationalization of education. Knowledge, attitudes and skills conferred by education must become internationally oriented. Education should treat problems from different angles and make young people critical and aware of all the different sets of values involved. Education should not only make them aware of global problems, it should make them capable of working together with others in order to find solutions.

The reasons for introducing foreign language learning into compulsory education vary from one country to another and are based on the social, political and economic conditions of the different nations.

Foreign language learning is often important for communication within a nation. In many countries two or more languages are spoken and often there are also dialects of these languages, which are mutually impossible to understand. In order to make communication between the different ethnic groups possible one language is needed as a lingua franca and often this language is used as a medium of instruction. Examples in this field are Russian in the Soviet Union, English, French and Portuguese in different parts of Africa and Hindi and English in India.

1.8.2 Mother tongue in Education

In section 7 of this chapter language in education has been discussed from a historical point of view. Not until education was regarded as a universal right did the question of language in education arise. Historically it was natural to use the language of the elite as the medium of instruction. This has been pointed to in the previous section. According to the melting-pot theory of the United States all inhabitants should learn English as soon as possible and forget their mother tongues. This could hardly be regarded as an official language policy at that time. Language had not been acknowledged as a factor to be taken into account in immigration policies. Up to the 1950s a general notion was that the promotion of the mother tongue impeded national unity in countries with more than one language. This can be seen for instance in Unesco documents from these years. In a report from a meeting of Unesco experts in 1971 the following can be read reflecting an obvious change of views in the light of research findings:

"Appreciation was expressed for Unesco studies programmes on the use and development of mother tongues. The historic role played by the Unesco monograph The Use of Vernacular Languages in Education (1953) resulting from a 1951 meeting of experts, was recognized. The Advisory Group felt, however, that although the basic position outlined in that document with regard to the importance of mother tongues is valid, certain aspects of the statement need revision and elaboration in the light of recent linguistic and sociolinguistic findings. For example, the notion that promotion of mother tongue impedes national unity needs to be totally reconsidered. National unity and cultural and linguistic pluralism are not necessarily in fundamental opposition to one another. Virtually all States contain various cultural groups and the promotion of the respect, appreciation and enhancement of diversity and civic rights can be fundamental unifying principles" (The Role of Linguistics and Sociolinguistics in Language Education and Policy, 1972, paragraph 30, page 9).

The expert group also pointed to the evolution that had taken place in linguistic research. Earlier there had been a tendency to emphasize the difficulties arising from structural differences between languages. Sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics and anthropology have caused interest to focus on other issues. Language is not only an individual's basic means of communication with others but also his means of cultural identity and the instrument he uses to interpret the world around him. Recent research had shown, according to the experts, that the mother tongue is of great importance for the formation of the personal identity. Therefore all people should have the opportunity of forming their basic concepts with the help of the mother tongue. The experts interpreted existing research results and recommended that school children should have a good command of their mother tongue before starting to learn a new one. They stated that the mother tongue is important for the self-respect of the individual and the development of his different roles in the family, the community, the nation and the world.

The evolution of a language policy in education has both historical and sociological aspects. As this evolution is part of the wider policy of language in society as a whole, the arguments for a certain policy are not only educational. To a great extent they relate to the kind of society politicians wish to create. The language policy reflects the views of the decision makers on the economic, political, cultural and social development of a country.

This study will not deal with language policies in general but with policies for minority education. These two, however, are highly interdependent. The historical development of language policies, and the present state of affairs of these, are decisive for today's policies for language education of minorities.

Part I The Case Study of Sweden

Chapter 2 The Education System

2.1 THE SCHOOL STRUCTURE

Sweden has a nine-year compulsory school, where the pupils start at the age of seven. There are three stages of three years each; lower primary, upper primary and lower secondary. There are about one million pupils in the compulsory school.

The goal of equal educational opportunities are found in school laws all over the world but is carried out in different ways. In Sweden virtually all children are admitted into the nine-year system of compulsory schooling. There are very few private schools. Over 98 per cent of the children are in the system.

After the compulsory school there is a voluntary upper secondary school. This is mostly organized in 22 "study lines", courses which last two or three years. It is integrated in the sense that both academic, general and vocational education is offered in the same institutions. About 85 per cent of every year group leaving the compulsory school continue to the upper secondary school, which can theoretically provide places for all of them. This is an average figure for 1980 given by the National Board of Education. About one third of the students cannot have their study line of first preference but have to accept other alternatives. There is also a wide variety of special courses, more than 400 of different length within the upper secondary school, ranging from rather general courses to highly specialized vocational ones. A state commission working on reforms within the upper secondary school has suggested measures to diminish the differences between the upper secondary school and adult education.

The local authorities are obliged to offer pre-school education for all six year olds, but attendance is not obligatory for the children. The social welfare authorities are responsible for pre-school education, which is legally part of the social services and not of the education system.

2.2 EDUCATIONAL REFORM WORK

The establishment of a local school system for compulsory education for all children was decided upon by the Swedish parliament in 1842. But education for all citizens has a longer tradition in Sweden through laws in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by which the parents were imposed to see to it that their children learnt how to read. Recent research has shown that the ability to read was widely spread already two hundred years ago. To a great extent people in Sweden were literate before compulsory schooling had been introduced. The parish priests had regular meetings where the religious knowledge of the parish inhabitants was checked. Reading was tied to confirmations. People should be able to read the central religious documents. The results were entered in the church registration documents of the citizens together with information on their ability to read. These registration documents have been kept since the seventeenth century within the church administration and are now valuable sources of information (Johansson, 1973). It took time, however, well into the 1860s, until the local authorities had fulfilled their responsibility to offer schooling for all children.

The education system has been radically changed over the last thirty years. The leading principle has been that the system should offer all children equal educational opportunities. They should all get education and training according to their individual needs and abilities. All kinds of inequalities should be effaced, such as geographical and economic difficulties and social or cultural conditions. Another leading principle has been that the earlier system of parallel schools of different social status should be replaced by one unified comprehensive school system (Marklund, 1980).

The changes have also aimed at increasing the local influence on decision-making within the education system. Parliamentary decisions have gradually transferred functions from the central to local levels (Marklund, 1980). Traditionally Sweden has had a centralized educational administration. This does not mean, however, that educational decisions have been imposed on people and that they have not been involved. Educational matters have been important parts of the programmes of all political parties. During the reform period there have been annual debates in the Swedish parliament on education. These issues have been rooted in public opinion. Most decisions on important reforms have been based on consensus between the political parties.

Over the last few years this situation has changed, as the political situation has become less stable than it used to be. It is natural that existing differences of opinion become more evident in a political situation where no single party has a parliamentary majority of its own. The growth of material prosperity during the fifties, sixties and the first years of the seventies has now changed. Public expenditures have to be cut down, unemployment causes concern and many industries find it difficult to compete on the world market. Another factor may be added and that is immigration. With immigration new opinions and new value systems have been introduced. Differences in race, religion and language have increased.

Different organizations have taken great interest in educational matters like trade unions, church associations, and sports organizations. They have influenced public opinion and the political parties. It is common that these large organizations have their representatives in commissions, appointed by the government to investigate problems and propose solutions. This system of commissions is a typical ingredient in the political system of decision-making. It is dealt with in Chapter 5.

2.3 CENTRAL, REGIONAL AND LOCAL AUTHORITIES

When the parliament has decided upon changes of the school system, the implementation of them is handed over to the central educational authorities (skolöverstyrelsen). The Ministry of Education is a comparatively small agency, mainly concerned with policy formation. Sweden has a long tradition of central independent authorities, attached to the ministries. They are equivalent to the administrative branches of the ministries in other countries. The National Board of Education is responsible for the central administration of all parts of the educational system except the universities. During the reform period the National Board of Education has taken care of the planning, following up and assessment of educational decisions. Since 1958 there are also regional state agencies in the twenty-four counties, County Education Boards (länsskolnämnderna), which work in close co-operation with the National Board of Education.

Now that important parts of the reform work have been finished, local education authorities will take over most of the responsibilities. The local education authorities, 278 altogether, are responsible for the administration of the schools. Each district has a superintendent as chief executive officer. The local education authorities are politically elected. State grants cover about half of the total costs of the local school system.

2.4 ADMINISTRATION OF THE INDIVIDUAL SCHOOLS

The Swedish population is unevenly distributed. In sparsely populated areas pupils in the higher grades often have to travel daily up to one hour or even more to reach their schools. There are also boarding arrangements for children from rural areas.

There are usually two or in big schools more headmasters in every school. The assistant headmasters are mostly concerned with curriculum planning. But now there is a trend towards more diversified responsibilities within a school. All people, working in a school, are expected to take part in the planning activities, including the pupils. A Co-Determination Act passed in 1977 has strengthened the influence of the teachers and other staff on decisions affecting their working conditions.

2.5 THE CURRICULUM AND THE TEACHERS

The concept of the curriculum has a special meaning within the Swedish educational system. It refers to a plan for the education of the schools which is valid all over the country. It contains two parts: one with the general aims and goals and guidelines for school activities and one with the contents of the different subjects. Certain parts of the curriculum should be established by parliamentary decisions: the general aims of education, the subjects to be taught at different stages and the number of lessons in these subjects. Other parts of the curriculum are conceived as advisory only. They have been developed by the National Board of Education to help teachers plan their work. The latest curriculum was decided by the parliament in 1979 and was gradually introduced from 1980. Compared to the curricula of 1962 and 1969 it is less detailed and will leave more planning to the schools and the individual teachers.

Teacher education has been integrated since 1977 with a decentralized university system. Courses for class teachers for the primary stages, grades 1-3, last two and a half years and for teachers of the middle stage, grades 4-6, three years. Subject teachers for the higher grades have a university degree before their one-year teacher training course.

A government commission, appointed in 1974, has drafted proposals for future teacher training (Lärare för skola i utveckling, 1978). After their report was published no parliamentary decisions have been made yet on the

basis of their work. The work of the 1974 commission aimed at widening the competence of teachers for the compulsory school to teach in more grades and more subjects than is now the case.

Chapter 3 National Minorities in Sweden

3.1 INTRODUCTION

As mentioned before the policies both in Sweden and Britain for the language education of immigrants have had predecessors in previous policies for education of national minorities: in Sweden the Lapps and the Finns and in Britain the Welsh.

Historically Sweden has had a rather homogeneous population and culture. In modern times it has never been occupied by foreign forces. For almost two centuries Sweden has not been involved in a war. This means that Swedes have not for a very long time experienced a real threat to their cultural heritage, sets of values or way of living. No deep social conflicts have taken place between different groups. Even the change from a relatively strict class society into a modernized democratic one has been fairly peaceful.

Two national minority groups exist in Sweden: the Lapps and the Finnish-speaking people of Tornedalen. Something will be said about the role of the Gypsy language later. In Sweden most Jews are Swedish citizens. They are not regarded as foreigners or refugees any longer. Their language, Hebrew, is learnt to be used in a restricted number of situations. But of course they have many cultural characteristics and traditions, which are typical of a minority group. The Estonians are also a minority group. Their situation is different from that of other groups. Most of them came to Sweden as refugees during the last two years of the Second World War, and as they have been in Sweden for such a long period, their problems are different. Something will be said in chapter 5 about their efforts to maintain their languages and cultural heritage, but we will concentrate on recent immigration as conscious language policies did not exist earlier.

3.2 THE POPULATION OF TORNEDALEN

Sweden as well as the other Nordic countries had been involved in the Napoleonic War of the early 19th century. In this war as in many earlier conflicts the subject of the contest between Russia and Sweden was the

Swedish territories in the Baltic area. Several times during the 19th century Russia had taken over wide Finnish areas from Sweden, for instance areas near St Petersburg. The Swedish army did not succeed in defending Finland. In 1809 the Russians advanced as far as Umeå in Northern Sweden and the Aland Islands in the southern part. A peace treaty was signed at Fredrikshavn in 1809, where Sweden surrendered Finland and the Aland Islands to Russia. The frontier between Sweden and Finland was laid along a river - Torne älv - so that it bisected the valley of the river, an area which had formerly been a cultural and linguistic unity - Finnish-speaking and culturally influenced from the east. The valley to the west of the river remained Swedish and the valley to the east became Finnish territory. This Finnish-speaking part of Sweden in Tornedalen has always belonged to Sweden. When compulsory primary education was introduced in Sweden in 1842, there were no primary schools in this area, and it took a fairly long time for schools to be established for all children. It was a poor part of the country. It was difficult for the local authorities to raise money for this purpose. In Tornedalen they obtained permission to postpone the realization of the decision of 1842 several times. There were only eleven schools in existence at the beginning of the 1860s (Slunga, 1965).

In a linguistically almost homogeneous country like Sweden it was only natural that nothing was written about language in education in the school statutes. The local authorities in Tornedalen planned for a Finnish-speaking education. During this early period people complained of lack of Finnish-speaking teachers and of Finnish school-books. The year 1874 implied a new ingredient in the school-policy in Tornedalen through resources over the state buget. A teacher training college, financed by the state, was started in 1875 in the town of Haparanda, with the aim to educate teachers who knew Finnish to teach in Finnish-speaking primary schools.

Right from the beginning there were many people who wanted to make the schools in Tornedalen more "Swedish". As early as the 1870s both teaching of Swedish and teaching in Swedish was introduced. At first Swedish was a voluntary subject taught only to the gifted children, but gradually it was widened to comprise all children. School-books were published with the text both in Swedish and Finnish, which made the training of Swedish easier. But gradually it became obvious that the decision makers wanted to reinforce the position of the Swedish language in the schools. Suggestions were made several times for schools with Swedish as the medium of instruction. The reasons for this were not educational. Swedish-speaking education was seen

as a means to make the area more Swedish. In their discussions the local authorities in this part of the country as well as in the central government in Stockholm there were unmistakeable fears that the Finnish-speaking minority might be used by the Russian government as an excuse for taking possession of the area. Finland remained a Russian Grand Duchy until 1917, so the frontier in Tornedalen was in reality a frontier between Russia and Sweden.

In 1888 a new policy element was introduced by the Swedish parliament. Four primary boarding schools were established which were financed by the state. One reason for this was that it took the local authorities a long time to build up the educational system, as Tornedalen was a very poor part of Sweden. But that was true of other parts as well. The main reason for investing state money was to make education Swedish. Finnish was totally abolished and without any transition period. No efforts were made to find out if the people concerned agreed with this solution. This new policy was adopted and carried out by the state in accordance with recommendations by inspectors and local clergymen, who exercised a great influence on educational matters.

It is difficult to form an opinion of what really happened and of what the people themselves, who were affected by the policy decisions, thought about this policy. From official documents it would seem that they were very enthusiastic and wanted more state schools. But the main reason for this might not be that the schools were Swedish-speaking but that they did not claim any local resources, which were scarce. It is also possible, however, that people had discovered very early that social and geographical mobility depended heavily on knowledge of the majority language.

The grant of 1874 amounted to 12 000 Swedish crowns. In 1934 it had reached its maximum, 640 000 crowns. The number of state schools increased. In order to get state schools the local authorities had to build a corresponding number of schools themselves.

According to Slunga teachers did not allow children to speak Finnish at school. Parents were told by the teachers to try and speak Swedish with their children at home. But gradually the situation changed again, starting in the 1930s. Finnish as a voluntary subject was introduced in the upper secondary school of Haparanda and in some other secondary schools in Tornedalen.

Politicians, educational administrators and teachers were not aware of the difficulties they created for many people, when they adopted and reinforced the language policy in Tornedalen with Swedish as the medium of instruction. They were afraid of political conflicts and it was said that Finnish culture might press back Swedish culture from the northern part of the country. The vital role of the mother tongue for the individual was unknown to decision makers both in the educational and political fields.

There are reasons to believe that the great immigration wave into Sweden which began in the 1960s has increased the understanding of these problems in Sweden both by decision makers and researchers. A number of research projects started at universities, financed by the National Board of Education. The role of the mother tongue was discussed on all levels of the educational system - by parents, teachers and educational authorities. When in the 1960s immigration made the linguistic situation complex in Sweden, educational planners and researchers made language learning of immigrants and language teaching to immigrants a priority area for research and development work.

A sociolinguistic research project on Tornedalen was initiated in 1963 and financed by the Cultural Fund for Sweden and Finland. A survey entitled The Language in Tornedalen (Loman, 1974) was published. It contains abstracts of reports describing the current linguistic situation in Tornedalen. Magdalena Jaakkola, a member of the project team, described the use of the two languages, Swedish and Finnish, in her article The Linguistic Variation in Swedish Tornedalen (Den språkliga variationen i svenska Tornedalen). In a study Språkgränsen (The Linguistic Frontier) she has dealt with the problems more in depth (Jaakkola, 1973).

There are today about 50 000 people in the north of Sweden who have Finnish as their mother tongue. They are the majority of the population of Tornedalen. The number of people who regard themselves as fully bilingual varies between 14 and 27 per cent in the different villages. But as many as 96 per cent say that they can speak both languages a little.

There are certain obvious linguistic problems in Tornedalen, according to Magdalena Jaakkola. The Finnish language there is an oral language. So people with Finnish as their mother tongue have seldom learnt to read and write in Finnish and as a consequence words for new concepts or new things have often been taken from Swedish and linguistic interference is very

common. The lack of contacts with Finnish written language has had as a result that many modern Finnish words are unknown in Tornedalen.

3.3 THE LAPPS

Lapps live in four countries in northern Europe: Norway, Sweden, Finland and the Soviet Union. In Scandinavia another word is often used to denote the Lapps (samer) but as it does not exist in English it will not be used here. Here only the Lapps in Sweden will be taken into account. Lappish identity in Sweden has always been closely linked to reindeer-farming. But today a majority of the Lapps have occupations in other sectors of society. The State Commission on Lapps whose report, The Lapps in Sweden (Samerna i Sverige), appeared in 1975, estimated the Lappish population at about 15 000 people. Only 2 500 of them were reindeer-farmers. Many live outside the reindeer-farming area in the north of Sweden. For a census of the population it is difficult to find valid criteria. The most common way nowadays is to identify a person as a Lapp, when he identifies himself as such. It is not quite clear where the Lapps originally came from and how long they have been in Sweden, but it seems to be obvious that they have been in the northern parts of Sweden longer than other population groups.

In the 14th century the northern boundary of the Swedish population was south of Skellefteå. Gradually colonists pushed themselves forward towards the north along the coast and into the valleys of the rivers. As early as the Middle Ages the Lapps were acknowledged the right to carry on their reindeer-farming in the northern areas of Sweden. During certain periods by the end of the Middle Ages a fur-trade flourished in Lappish areas, but the tradesmen were not Lapps. Later on the state tried to monopolize this trade, and the private tradesmen were replaced by state officials.

The colonization of the northern areas by Swedes was encouraged by different measures. The official policy was that the areas would be big enough for both Swedes and Lapps, so no special measures were considered necessary to protect the Lapps. Later in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries there were conflicts between the two groups, and it seems obvious that the interests of the Lapps were not taken into account. Edmund Dahlström, Professor of Sociology at the University of Gothenburg, writes in his research report on the Lappish Minority in Sweden (Dahlström, 1972) that the rights of the Lapps were neglected when it was discovered that the traditional Lappish areas could be used for other purposes than reindeer-farming,

fishing and hunting, which were the principal interests of the nomad or semi-nomad Lapps. Efforts were made to separate the areas of the Lapps from the areas of the Swedish farmers. But this was not successful and the colonization went on.

The big resources of iron in the Lappish areas were exploited. New villages were built for the workers of the mines. A railway was constructed to carry the iron ore to Narvik in northern Norway at the beginning of the century. Many big water-power installations were constructed in the rivers to generate electricity, which was and still is vital for large parts of Sweden outside the Lappish areas. And the compensation problems seem to have remained unsolved.

The Lapoish language belongs to the Finno-Ugric group of languages. It is related to Finnish, Livonian and Estomian, as they belong to the Finnish subgroup. Hungarian belongs to the Ugric subgroup. There are several theories about the origin of the Lappish language, as there are certain elements in the language which do not exist in Finnish but in other Finno-Ugric languages further away from Northern Scandinavia. The vocabulary is closely linked to the traditional Lappish way of living. There are many words and concepts related to nature and reindeer-farming. This does not mean that it is impossible to find abstract words and concepts in Lappish, but they may be difficult to translate into other languages as they are closely connected with Lappish culture and Lappish ways of looking at life. This is not specific to the Lappish language but true of all languages. A language conveys cultural traditions, orders the phenomena of the world in a certain way as the natural means of communication between people who share all this.

Linguistic research has shown both how important it is for a child to develop and maintain his mother tongue and also how a good development of the mother tongue makes it easier to learn a second language, in this case the majority language Swedish.

The interest of the Lapps to maintain their language is greater now than it used to be. Efforts have been made not only to increase education in Lappish but also to develop the language. For natural reasons it is poor in words for technical concepts and modern society. In a cultural programme adopted by a Nordic Lappish conference at Gällivare in 1971 they decided to establish a linguistic committee with members from Finland, Norway and Sweden. One of the most important tasks for this committee is to create words for modern phenomena of different kinds.

When the State Commission on Lapps earlier referred to (p. 30) made an investigation of the knowledge of the Lappish language among the different groups of Lapps in the middle of the 1970s the results were rather disappointing. Of the reindeer-farming Lapps 5 per cent did not understand Lappish at all, 20 per cent could not speak Lappish, 45 per cent could not read Lappish, and 80 per cent could not write Lappish. 50 per cent of the group said that their children knew no Lappish. The knowledge of the Lapps working in other sectors of society was still lower.

Education for the Lapps has been primarily in Swedish. Apart from some minor initiatives during the seventeenth century, mainly aimed at educating priests, the beginning of the eighteenth century meant the actual start for any kind of formal education of the Lapps. It was closely connected with the missionary efforts to make the Lapps Christian. A decision was made in 1763 by the government according to which schools for Lappish children should be built near all seven main churches in the Lappish area. Religion and reading, both in Lappish and Swedish, were the main subjects. The course lasted two years, during which period the children were kept at school, because it was feared that they would not return, if they were sent to their parents. But the parents were not interested in sending their children to these schools, where at first only boys but later also girls were accepted. Only a restricted number of children were educated in this way, but it was hoped that they should spread their knowledge to other members of the family and the village.

There were also peripathetic teachers, a way of organizing the Lappish education which persisted into the twentieth century, together with other forms. Seven stationary schools existed in the beginning of the nineteenth century, but they were all gradually closed down. One of the reasons, mentioned for this decision, was that the education was poor and that knowledge of the Lappish language by the teachers was also poor. Another argument was that the schools took the children away from their nomad life. But some of the stationary schools reappeared and at the beginning of the twentieth century there were several different forms of such schools in existence.

In 1913 the Swedish parliament decided to improve Lappish education. The Minister of Education made a parliamentary speech, stressing the fact that it had been extremely difficult to find suitable solutions to the problem. It was regarded as important for the Lappish population that they retain

their way of living, but they should also get the same elementary education as other citizens. Therefore priority was given to ambulatory nomad schools. The development of an educational system which could be common to the Lappish and the Swedish children of the area got no support. The decision meant that education for the Lapps became separate, which also meant lower educational standards. The Lapps themselves did not approve of the decisions, but they had no possibility to exercise any influence on them. They stated that the decisions showed that the Swedes thought that a Lapp should remain a Lapp. At a big Lappish meeting held in 1918, the Lappish representatives said that the principles, on which the Lappish educational system was built, were wrong altogether.

In the guidelines of 1913 nothing was mentioned about the language of education. But later in documents from 1925 and 1938 it was said that the language of education should be Swedish unless there were special reasons to do otherwise. Earlier education had been in Lappish or it had been bilingual, when the teachers used books with the text both in Swedish and in Lappish. But this decision on the language of education was something new and different. The Lappish educational system should aim at preserving Lappish traditions, Lappish ways of living and Lappish culture, but the Lappish language as the medium of education was abolished.

By a parliamentary decision in 1962 the Lappish schools became integrated into the system of the nine-year compulsory schooling for all Swedish children. It is possible for parents to send their children either to regular schools or to special Lappish schools. In 1962 it was decided that there should be special schools, as long as the Lapps want them.

The existing curriculum for the compulsory school has been adopted in the Lappish schools. In supplementary guidelines for these schools by the National Board of Education it is pointed out that the pupils should get the possibility to use their mother tongue and develop a positive attitude towards the Lappish language and Lappish culture. It should be possible for all Lappish children to have this education irrespective of their parents being reindeer-farmers or not. In these schools the Lappish language is a subject in all grades. If Lappish children are sent to regular schools, they are entitled to have education in their mother tongue according to the same rules as immigrant children have. These rules will be dealt with in Chapter 6.

Production of learning aids for Lappish education started in 1972 with resources for educational research and development work, provided by the National Board of Education. This work is still carried out with state money by the Lappish authorities and materials are produced on funds to support production of learning aids for small target groups. The project leader is a Lappish teacher. Experts from the northern regional and local educational authorities co-operate with teachers who are used as authors of the materials. The group also co-operates with corresponding development groups in Norway and Finland.

The language problem is of vital importance for the survival of the Lappish culture and the Lapps as a defined ethnic group. As has been said before the knowledge of the mother tongue is not very deep among the population. There are many reasons for this, some of which have already been pointed to. In addition to these there is the fact that a Lappish orthography has only been developed quite recently. But there are signs now that Lappish identity is strengthened and that the interest in the mother tongue is increasing. Many of the decisions which have been made to support the education of immigrant children have improved the possibilities for the Lappish population to maintain and develop their mother tongue. In recent years there has been a strong movement among many of the original populations of the world to make their voices heard and to demand their rights from the majority populations in their countries. The policy for the education of Swedish national minorities over the last two decades is closely connected to the development of the corresponding policies for immigrants. This will be dealt with in Chapter 5.

Chapter 4 The Transformation of Sweden into a Multi-Lingual Society

4.1 BACKGROUND

In a report from the Swedish Bureau of Statistics on pupils with another mother tongue than Swedish we can notice that in the autumn of 1978 there were 81 214 students out of a total number of 1 038 190 in the Swedish comprehensive school, who had another language than Swedish as their mother tongues (Statistiska meddelanden, 1979). That means an average of 7,8 per cent of the school population. Not less than 22 different languages are identified in the report. In addition there is a group of 2 297 pupils with various other mother tongues, which are found in such small numbers that they have not been identified in the tables. Altogether there are more than 40 different mother tongues. As will be discussed in Chapter 5 p. 60 the term used in Swedish sources is home language. It is defined as the language used in a child's home environment. This may influence the quality of the figures. It is not necessarily the case that the language used in the home is the mother tongue of the child. If a child has Greek parents for instance and Greek is often used in his home between his parents, the child might have Swedish as his mother tongue.

As a background to the following chapters of this study on the existing language policy a few observations will be made here on the development which turned an almost mono-lingual and mono-cultural Sweden into a multi-lingual and multi-cultural society in a fairly short period of time. Let us first consider some figures, put together from official Swedish census statistics. These publications are mentioned in the bibliography under the heading "Sveriges officiella statistik".

Table 5. Swedish and foreign citizens

Year	Swedish citizens	Foreign citizens	People in Sweden born abroad*
1900	5 294 885	15 281	35 627
1910	5 522 403	21 708	47 900
1920	5 902 489	22 811	57 832
1930	6 142 191	16 411	61 657
1945	6 673 749	35 111	101 071
1950	6 918 109	123 720	197 810
1960	7 304 508	190 621	299 879
1970	7 463 150	407 808	537 585
1975	7 797 887	410 657	550 451

* Including both Swedish and foreign citizens

There had been numerous streams of refugees in Europe since the beginning of the twentieth century but before the Second World War only a few of them reached Sweden.

In the years 1900-1930 the number of immigrants did not amount to half the number of emigrants. Sweden was still a poor country. Many young Swedes wanted to try their fortune in other countries, above all the United States. In 1930 there were 595 250 people in the United States who were born in Sweden.

The number of people in Sweden who were born abroad increased between 1920 and 1930 by 3 825 persons from 57 832 persons to 61 657 which is equivalent to an increase of 6.6 per cent. It is stated in the census report (Sveriges officiella statistik, 1936, p. 1) that Sweden is still one of the nations in Europe where the number of aliens is small, only one per cent of the population and this is attributed to the general view of Sweden as a remote country. It is interesting to notice that these circumstances are just mentioned in the report of the census. In the 1920 report the homogeneity of Sweden was noted more in detail and referred to as an advantage of the nation. In the census of the 31st of December 1920 (Sveriges officiella statistik, 1925) it is stated that "... Sweden enjoys the advantage of having within its boundaries a very homogeneous population, as far as nationality/race is concerned. The only essential exceptions from this homogeneity are or one hand the two groups of alien origin, who live together with the Swedes in the northern parts of our country, viz. Finns and Lapps, on the other Jews who mainly live in a couple of towns..." (p. 23,

the author's translation). It is possible that the difference between the texts of 1920 and 1930 is only due to different persons having written them, but it is also possible that it reflects changing views on aliens.

In the 1920s and the 1930s the Swedish laws on immigrants and refugees were very restrictive. In 1937 the Immigration Act was revised. The policy of keeping foreign people out of Sweden was still obvious, but some measures were taken to offer political refugees better protection than before. In 1938 the government decided that German citizens who had special Jewish passports - they were marked by the German authorities with a J - should only be allowed to come to Sweden in special cases. They were not regarded as refugees. During the war the number of refugees increased considerably and Swedish understanding of the precarious situation of the refugees increased, too. The obstacles to Jews wishing to come to Sweden were abolished during the war but it was impossible for them to get permission to leave the countries they had lived in. The refugees in Sweden by the end of the war came primarily from the other Nordic countries and from the Baltic states. After the war immigration increased and Sweden became an immigration country.

The number of refugees in Europe after the Second World War totalled about six million (Melander-Wiberg, 1976). In the years after the war more and more refugees came to Western Europe from Eastern European countries. The number decreased gradually as the regulations in the countries they came from became more restrictive. Most people were not allowed to leave their countries any longer. The streams of refugees increased after serious conflicts in 1956, when 200 000 Hungarians left their country, and in 1968, when more than 50 000 left Czechoslovakia. The refugee-problems in Europe, created by the Second World War were almost totally solved by the end of the 1960s. Sweden received a small number of the refugees who had lived in camps in Europe, about 22 000.

In other parts of the world the streams of refugees have increased during the last twenty-five years - Africa, Asia and Latin America. The political conflicts and wars both within and between states have made great numbers of people leave their countries because they run the risk of being persecuted if they stay. Many of them have wanted and hoped to go back to their original countries as soon as possible. But as the political situation in most countries has not improved, many of the refugees have stayed in their new countries. Sweden has not admitted any great numbers of refugees, and they only make up one per cent of the total number of immigrants in Sweden.

As can be seen from figures, given in the following paragraphs they were only 5 290 persons out of 550 451 people in Sweden in 1975 who were born abroad. In the first part of the 1950s immigration changed character and labour force immigration became dominant. Immigration reached its maximum by the end of the 1960s with 77 000 immigrants in one year.

The great immigration wave during the 1960s came partly as a result of active measures to make people move to Sweden. Swedish firms tried to recruit workers in different countries in Europe. The Swedish work force was not big enough for the needs of industry. The standard of living had become higher in Sweden than in many other European countries. So immigrants came to Sweden, as they did to some other European countries, like the Federal Republic of Germany, Switzerland, Britain, Holland and France. Demands on restrictions were raised early, however. In 1967 it was decided that all non-Nordic immigrants should have a work permit on their arrival.

They hoped to find work and better living conditions in the new countries than in their native countries. In the first wave of immigrants into Sweden the men pre-dominated, but after a couple of years their wives and children have come too. The biggest group of immigrants in Sweden comes from the other Nordic countries. There has been a common Nordic labour market since 1954, which has simplified migration between these countries. Efforts have been made to support co-operation between the Nordic countries. In 1953 it was decided that passports would not be necessary between the countries. In education there has been co-operation since the middle of the 1950s in order to harmonize the curricula.

In the 1975 Population and Housing Census (Part 3:3, p.98, published in 1977) some figures might be of interest to illustrate where most immigrants have come from. The total population in Sweden was on 1 November 1975 8 208 544 persons:

Table 6. Immigrants born in European countries

Country of birth	Number
Denmark	48 302
Federal Republic of Germany	39 543
Finland	222 147
Greece	14 676
Hungary	11 807
Yugoslavia	36 956
Norway	43 842
Poland	14 461

(Sveriges officiella statistik, 1977)

Other European countries are represented in smaller numbers. Altogether there were 497 263 immigrants from different countries in Europe. The numbers of immigrants from other parts of the world were much smaller.

Table 7. Immigrants born in non-European countries

Country of birth	Number
Africa	5 849
South America (including 1 663 from Chile)	14 575
Asia (including 6 143 from Turkey)	19 605

It should be observed here that the figures show the countries of birth. Many children were born of immigrant families in Sweden and they are not included in the figures. Altogether there were 550 451 people living in Sweden in 1975 who were born in other countries.

4.2 SOME CURRENT STATISTICS

During the latter half of the 1970s immigration has changed considerably in Sweden. Earlier immigration was to a great extent the result of measures by Swedish authorities and employers to make people come to Sweden. In the last few years it has become more difficult to find work. Several industrial branches have had economic difficulties, which have forced them to rationalize and cut their personnel. Many firms have closed down because of difficulties to compete on the world market. The raw materials which form the basis of industry are available at lower prices in other parts of the world and the costs of production are lower there, too. Several other countries both in Europe and other parts of the world have attained a living standard comparable to Sweden.

The composition of immigration has changed in the 1970s. Immigration from non-European countries has tripled. Labour force immigration from non-Nordic countries has decreased drastically. They are specialists of different kinds and personnel in multi-national companies. The number of refugees has increased and so has non-Nordic immigrants who want to join their families in Sweden. Nordic immigration, however, is still dominated by labour force immigration.

Table 8. Immigration from different parts of the world in 1979

	Number	Per cent
Non-Nordic immigrants	16 200	50
Thereof		
foreign adopted children	1 300	4
refugees	3 650	11
family-linked immigrants	9 000	28
non-Nordic labour force	1 450	5
guest students	800	2
Nordic immigrants (except Swedes)	16 200	50
	32 400	100

(Data om invandrare, 1981)

The rules of admission in Sweden are stricter today than they used to be, and the authorities try to control all immigration. No restrictions have yet been introduced on the common Nordic labour market. A new agreement has been reached in 1982. It is still possible for Nordic citizens to settle down and find work in any of the Nordic countries. But the authorities should take greater responsibility for the social and economic security of people, moving from one country to another.

According to official statistics of 1979, which are the latest figures available, there were 424 188 aliens - foreign citizens - in Sweden on 31 December 1978. Their structure by age groups and sexes was as follows:

Table 9. Number of aliens in 1979

Age	Men	Women	Total
0-4	21 911	21 537	43 448
5-9	21 642	20 870	43 512
10-14	18 957	18 164	37 121
15-19	13 314	14 951	28 265
20-24	18 054	21 657	39 711
25-29	27 216	27 816	55 032
30-34	29 058	24 855	53 913
35-39	22 555	15 736	38 291
40-44	16 104	11 947	28 051
45-49	11 425	9 052	20 477
50-54	7 835	6 475	14 310
55-59	4 998	4 342	9 340
60-64	2 591	2 641	5 232
65-69	1 628	2 027	3 655
70-74	894	1 432	2 326
75-79	519	885	1 404
80-84	245	454	699
85-89	101	184	285
90-94	23	69	92
95-	9	15	24
	219 079	205 109	424 188

(Sveriges officiella statistik, Statistical Abstract of Sweden, 1979, p. 45)

The age structure of the immigrant population differs from that of the population as a whole. The largest immigrant group is children and adults up to forty years of age. In the total population the groups of old age pensioners - people older than 65 - are with very few exceptions larger than the groups of children and adults of working ages. Thus the average age of the immigrant population is considerably lower than that of the total population. Table 9 shows foreign citizens only, but the age structure is the same for the total immigrant population including those who have later obtained Swedish citizenship.

There are foreign citizens in all 24 counties of Sweden but they are unevenly distributed. Concentrations are found in industrial areas, whereas there are

very few in agricultural and forestry areas. By the end of 1978 the distribution was as follows:

Table 10. Distribution of aliens

County	Number	In per cent of total population
Stockholm	143 420	9.4
Uppsala	12 707	5.3
Södermanland	16 328	6.5
Östergötland	14 449	3.7
Jönköping	11 396	3.8
Kronoberg	6 133	3.6
Kalmar	4 964	2.1
Gotland	364	0.7
Blekinge	4 905	3.2
Kristianstad	7 278	2.6
Malmöhus	42 219	5.7
Halland	7 858	3.5
Göteborg and Bohus	49 841	7.0
Älvsborg	22 601	5.3
Skaraborg	7 734	2.9
Värmland	6 738	2.4
Örebro	10 684	3.9
Västmanland	19 662	7.6
Kopparberg	8 287	2.9
Gävleborg	6 830	2.3
Västernorrland	4 581	1.7
Jämtland	1 634	1.2
Västerbotten	3 706	1.5
Norrbotten	9 869	3.7
Sweden	424 188	5.1

(Sveriges officiella statistik, Statistical Abstract of Sweden, 1979, p. 45)

To a great extent immigrants have settled down in the urban areas round Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö. The number of Finnish citizens is great in certain communities in the North, above all Haparanda and in communities around Stockholm and Gothenburg. Turkish, Greek and Yugoslav citizens live in the southern part of Sweden and round Stockholm.

Table 11. Communities with a high percentage of foreign citizens at the end of 1979

Community	Per cent
Botkyrka	20.8
Haparanda	19.9
Södertälje	16.3
Upplands-Väsby	14.5
Surahammar	14.4
Hallstahammar	13.3
Olofström	13.1
Värmdö	13.1
Haninge	12.7
Huddinge	12.7
Skinnskatteberg	12.5
Sigtuna	12.4
Upplands-Bro	12.0
Nacka	11.0
Tyresö	11.0
Fagersta	10.3
Solna	10.2
Eskilstuna	10.0
Perstorp	10.0
Köping	9.7

The number of immigrant children is increasing. Over the last few years about 9 per cent of the children born in Sweden have had non-Swedish mothers. The number of children with a foreign background will increase even without any immigration.

In Sweden, there are more than 295 000 children and young people who have at least one of the parents born abroad. That means 15 per cent of them. For more than a third of them both parents were born abroad. More than one third of them, 105 800, are in pre-school ages.

Table 12. Children 0-17 years of age in Sweden who have at least one of the parents born abroad. The end of 1979.

Parental home country	Ages 0-6	7-9	10-12	13-16	16-17	Total Number	Per Cent
One of the parents born in Sweden, the other abroad	45 400	22 300	23 200	25 500	14 500	139 900	44
Both parents born abroad	38 600	18 500	18 900	18 800	11 200	105 700	36
Thereof in the same country	33 700	16 400	16 600	16 700	9 800	93 100	32
in different countries	4 900	2 100	2 100	2 100	1 400	12 600	4
Single parents born abroad	21 800	9 600	9 700	10 700	6 800	58 700	20
Total number	105 800	50 500	51 600	54 900	32 400	295 300	100
Per cent	36	17	17	19	11	100	

(Data om invandrare, 1981)

In the autumn term of 1978 7.8 per cent of the total number of pupils in comprehenisve school and 4.4 per cent in upper secondary school were immigrants - defined as pupils who speak another language than Swedish at home. 59 per cent of all immigrant pupils lived in four counties - Stockholm, Malmöhus, Göteborg och Bohus, and Västmanland. In the County of Stockholm alone there were 28 per cent.

The number of immigrant pupils in comprehensive school was almost 90 000 in 1978, an increase since 1975 of 30 000. In 1975 about 18 000 pupils took part in mother tongue teaching and in 1978 about 36 000. Participation is optional but the interest has obviously increased. In 1975 about 30 per cent of the immigrant children and in 1978 more than 40 per cent of them took part in this instruction. Owing to organizational difficulties a number of pupils cannot be offered mother tongue teaching. In 1978 they were about 4 000.

The Turkish children showed the greatest interest. 80 per cent of them had mother tongue teaching. 60 per cent of the Finnish children took part, but owing to their great number they were the largest language group (Statistiska meddelanden, 1979).

Chapter 5 The Evolution of a Minority and Immigrant Policy

5.1 STATE COMMISSION REPORTS

As was shown in the previous chapter, Sweden was an emigration country until the Second World War. Some information was also given there about policy concerning refugees. What follows here is an analysis of the evolution of a minority and immigrant policy with special reference to education.

Reforms and new legislation in the fields of public life in Sweden have usually been prepared by State Commissions before proposals have been made to the Swedish parliament. A large number of such reports (between 75 and 100, depending on how the commissions are defined) have been presented every year in the 1960s and the 1970s by different ministries. In commissions on education there are as a rule representatives of the professionals working in the field: teachers, administrators and educational researchers. Within the work of the major State Commissions research, relevant to the problem area, has been carried out, as special resources have been attributed to the commissions for this purpose. Consequently it has been possible for the commissions to take both political policy considerations and research experience into account, when drawing up their proposals.

As reforms in the field of education are expressions of political determination, critical voices have often been heard, saying that research results are neglected. The report on the work of the commission, including proposals and calculations of the costs of realizing them, is presented to the Minister of Education. He then sends it out to all agencies concerned, asking them for their points of view on the proposals. Reports from educational commissions are always sent to central, regional and local authorities, to teacher unions, student associations and colleges of education. The Minister then uses both the commission's proposals and the opinions expressed by the instances consulted, when he presents the governmental proposals to the Swedish parliament. This process of consulting a number of agencies before making the final proposals is regarded as an important part of Swedish democracy.

Many of the State Commission reports in the 1960s and the 1970s dealt with problems relevant to the majority population as well as the minorities. Three reports, however, are especially important for the evolution of an immigrant policy and they are: Arbetsmarknadspolitik, 1965 (Labour Market Policy), Skolgång borta och hemma, 1966 (Schooling Abroad and at Home), and Invandrarutredningen 3, 1974 (The Immigrants and the Minorities). Their proposals and the parliamentary decisions based on them will be described in the following three sections.

5.1.1 Labour Market Policy

The State Commission on Labour Market Policy (SOU 1965:9) discussed in their report the recruitment of foreign workers to Sweden and also tried to predict whether these workers would remain in Sweden or not. The commission wrote:

> "An increasing exchange of labour between economically less developed nations and advanced industrial nations may furthermore make it easier for the former to reduce the technical and economic lead of the latter. A large part of the migrant labour force have the intention of returning to their native countries after a couple of years. If they have been employed within technically well-developed industries during their stay in the immigration country they will, in their own countries, form an element of vocationally trained labour force with industrial experience..." (Arbetsmarknadspolitik, p. 437, the author's translation).

It is obvious that such ideas of the results of immigration were unrealistic and mostly wrong. Newly arrived immigrants have often had to take dirty, monotonous jobs, which are badly paid and which tend to be avoided by the native labour force. This is the case in all immigration countries. Their jobs are not of a kind which requires co-operation and communication and therefore they don't develop their language at their working places. The language problems are on the whole neglected in this early report.

When a number of recommendable elements of an active immigration policy are discussed in the report (pp. 438 fol) the follwing aspects are emphasized: Wider exchange of information with emigration countries on vacant jobs in Sweden and people in the emigration countries, who are interested in working abroad, should be pursued. The measures taken should ensure that information really reaches the individuals and not only the labour market authorities in the emigration countries. It should be possible for the labour market authorities in Sweden to recruit people collectively and pay

the full cost for bringing foreign workers to Sweden. It is also emphasized that an active immigrant policy should include measures to help foreign workers to adapt to Swedish working and living conditions.

The commission argues that the employing Swedish firms should provide them with housing, workplace introduction and the necessary job training. The central authorities might be responsible for some measures, especially if workers have been recruited collectively. Additional vocational training, language courses and orientation about Swedish society and its organizations are mentioned as examples of such central measures.

This is the only time that language is mentioned as a problem of immigrant policy but it is not treated as an important issue. It is stated that the local authorities and the local organizations should see to it that foreign workers get the personal contacts to make immigrants feel at home. The commission then goes on to discuss wages and insurances against illness and unemployment and states that these conditions should be the same for the immigrants as they are for Swedish workers.

The proposals in this report are concentrated on measures which should make it easier for the immigrants to adjust as quickly as possible to Swedish conditions. There is no discussion about the meaning of adjustment, no efforts are made to analyse the long-term effects of the great changes in values, traditions and socio-cultural conditions immigrants are exposed to when they arrive, especially those who come from countries with a completely different social structure. Language aspects are almost totally missing. One reason for this could be that the tasks of this commission were so wide - they comprised the whole field of labour market policy - that its members could not cover all the aspects. Another reason seems to be that even in the mid-1960s responsible people still did not realize that the needs of the immigrants included many other elements beside adjustment to Swedish conditions.

The commission tried to estimate the volume of future immigration, which was a difficult task at the time. In the latter part of the 1950s the immigration figures were higher than the emigration figures but they were substantially lower than they had been during the first five years of the decade. The year 1956 with the influx of Hungarian refugees was an exception. Therefore the commission argued that the netto immigration into

Sweden would decline in the years to come. Other countries had begun to compete with Sweden for foreign workers, as the shortage of workers increased in all industrialized countries in Western Europe.

It is easy to state afterwards that the commission drew the wrong conclusions here. On average immigration figures were considerably higher than emigration figures both in the 1960s and in the 1970s. The only exceptions are the years 1972 and 1973, when emigration was considerably higher - about 11 000 - than immigration. These figures have been taken from statistical yearbooks for Sweden.

Table 13. Immigrants and emigrants

Year	Immigrants		Emigrants	
	Total	Swedish citizens thereof	Total	Swedish citizens thereof
1966	46 970	3 096	19 730	5 285
1967	29 983	2 908	19 979	5 450
1968	36 978	3 126	23 162	5 918
1969	64 503	3 728	20 360	5 926
1970	77 326	3 994	28 563	7 386
1971	42 615	2 859	39 560	8 196
1972	29 894	4 251	41 579	9 245
1973	29 443	4 561	40 342	10 085
1974	37 430	5 512	28 352	8 252
1975	44 133	6 072	27 249	6 843
1976	45 492	5 767	25 552	6 810
1977	44 005	5 295	21 078	6 218
1978	36 187	4 515	22 168	6 542

Emigration from Sweden to Finland exceeded immigration which explains most of the emigration surplus in 1972 and 1973. These figures were as follows:

	1972	1973
From Finland to Sweden	10 313	9 013
From Sweden to Finland	17 596	16 118

(Statistisk årsbok 1975, p. 82 and 1979, p. 89)

5.1.2 Schooling Abroad and at Home

In 1964 the government authorized the Minister of Education to appoint a state commission, entitled 1964 års utlands- och internatskoleutredning, of which Gunnar Helén, a Member of Parliament and later the leader of the Liberal Party, became chairman. It was the task of his commission to lay down guidelines for the schooling in Sweden and abroad of Swedish children, whose parents lived abroad. The number of Swedes, working or studying abroad, had increased considerably and it was expected that this evolution would continue, as Sweden became more involved in international activities both in the field of developmental aid and in export industry. The terms of reference for this part of the work of the commission were very detailed and it seems to be clear what the Minister expected the commission to do.

In addition the Commission was entrusted with the task of investigating the schooling of immigrant children. The terms were less detailed here, but it was stated that the task concerned children of religious and linguistic minority groups, who would be staying in the country for a long period of time. It was less clear, however, what was expected of the commission on this point. But the minister emphasized two questions, firstly if the minority groups might have some special interests in the field of education and secondly if measures already taken by society within the framework of the general school system were enough or if others should be taken into account. It was supposed that in the future a considerable number of immigrants would come to Sweden in order to work in the country and to earn a better living than in their original countries.

Although there were already several immigrant organizations in existence in Sweden and also a few schools for religious and linguistic minorities, the immigrant groups were not represented on the commission. This gave rise to much criticism from the immigrants as can be seen from the reactions the immigrants showed when they received the report from the Ministry of Education and were asked to give their points of view.

The report just mentioned shows that much more time and effort had been devoted to the first part of the task - the schooling of Swedish children, whose parents lived abroad - than to the schooling of the minority children. The report was published just before the great immigration wave came. The number of immigrant children was still small. Educational planners, administrators and teachers had not yet been confronted with the problem of

educating linguistic minority children to any large extent. The report gives some statistical facts to illustrate the numbers of immigrant children. The statistics have been taken from official statistical reports. For the years 1955 to 1964 the following average numbers of immigrant children of different age groups are reported:

Table 13. Immigrant and emigrant children

	Age groups 0-3	4-6	7-9	10-12	13-15
Number of Immigrants	1 927	1 232	911	682	620
Number of Emigrants	1 221	738	528	356	272

(Op.cit. p. 232)

It is obvious that the numbers were still fairly small and that the numbers of children in the youngest age group were considerably greater than those in the older age groups. Table 14 illustrates the number of children with insufficient knowledge of Swedish according to their teachers in the autumn term of 1964:

Table 14. Pupils with insufficient knowledge of Swedish

Home country (Nationality)	Grades 1	2-3	4-6	7-9	Upper secondary schools	Unknown	Total
Denmark	15	30	35	11			91
England	3	2	12	1			18
Finland	382	461	511	226	1	8	1 589
Greece	10	15	16	4	1		46
Italy	5	18	17	11			51
Yugoslavia	32	33	46	29	1	4	145
Norway	3	9	9	6	2		29
Poland	5	12	13	11	2		43
Spain	7	12	11	15	1		36
Turkey	2	4	4	3			13
Germany	17	29	30	4	1		81
Hungary	11	19	18	11	2		61
United States	13	20	28	17	5		93
Austria	2	2	9		1		14
Other European countries	12	21	25	15	1		74
Others	4	13	15	3	4		39
-- ----------							
In addition:							
Swedish children from abroad	4	7	7	7	1		26
Gypsies	10	4	4				18
Total	537	721	810	363	23	13	2 467
%	21.8	29.2	32.8	14.7	0.9	0.5	100

(Op.cit. p. 242)

In chapter 6 which deals with the current situation, it can be observed how radically the situation has changed. This figure of 2 467 from 1964 can be compared with corresponding statistics from 1978, when 32 166 pupils got education in Swedish as a second language.

The Commission on Labour Market Policy, described in section 5.1.1, had submitted their report in 1965. They said that netto immigration would decrease in the years to come. Already in the proposals based on the report of that commission, the Minister of the Interior expressed the view, however,

that immigration from the southern parts of Europe was not a temporary phenomenon. He was highly in favour of making the international labour market more liberal by removing various obstacles to migration between different countries. The next commission, on Schooling Abroad and at Home, mentioned that several previous efforts to estimate the extent of immigration had failed because the figures had been under-estimated. In 1964 and 1965 immigration increased considerably. The commission argued that rapidly increasing immigration would present problems of unknown dimensions to Swedish society.

In the conclusions and proposals of the 1964 commission new trends for the future can be discerned. Ever since the Second World War all measures taken by official authorities had aimed at making immigrants adjust as quickly as possible to living and working conditions in Sweden and at making them understand and accept the values and traditions of the Swedish majority population. The support they received in this process aimed at helping them overcome the initial difficulties in their new country: housing, insurances, wages and initial job training. But this commission drew attention to all aspects of immigration such as language problems and cultural identity and the important role that education could play in solving them.

What follows in the next paragraph is a summary of their major thoughts. It was said in the report that the general goals of the Swedish school-system should also be valid for the education of minority children, i.e. education should impart knowledge and develop the skills of the pupil and promote the personal development as an individual and a member of society, in co-operation with the parents. The education of minority children should be of the same quality as the education of majority children. Minority children should be given the opportunity to maintain their mother tongue and the culture of their parents with the aid of their education in Sweden. It should be the parents and the pupils together who decided how far they wanted to be assimilated into Swedish society. Education should help minority children to learn Swedish as well as possible and make them familiar with Swedish conditions. But it should also be the task of society to satisfy the needs of large minority groups to have their children educated in their mother tongue and other subjects which were important for the maintenance of their cultural heritage. Knowledge of other languages than Swedish and knowledge of conditions in other countries should be regarded as contributions to the cultural resources of Sweden.

The commission also investigated some current research results in the field of bilingualism. Researchers had found that beginners' education in the mother tongue would be preferable, if the child had deficient knowledge of the majority language. Such results would ultimately mean that special classes would be established for minority children. This was something the commission strongly opposed to, as this would mean isolation of the minority children from majority children of their own age and diminish the number of natural contexts where majority and minority children and parents could meet and get to know each other. So the commission said that separate classes for minority children should be avoided.

The ability to read should be taught in the language which the child used most easily when forming new concepts. The best solution to these problems would be for children who had another mother tongue than Swedish to learn Swedish before they started school. Therefore reading groups should be arranged for minority children within the pre-school system to make them read both in their mother tongue and in Swedish when they started school. But the commission also stated that they had not been able to find satisfactory solutions to this problem. Therefore they proposed development work in order to investigate various possibilities. Introductory measures were proposed to help minority children feel at home in their new school environment as well as supplementary education in order to impart knowledge of the language, history, geography, music etc of the home country. The government put forward proposals to the parliament based on the work of the commission on 8 March 1968 (Kungl. Maj:ts prop. nr 67 år 1968).

Most of these proposals were accepted by the parliament (SU 129, Rskr 303 1968). They included the same general goals for the education of minority children as majority children, compulsory education to the same extent as for majority children and introductory measures and supplementary education for minority children. Separate classes were rejected by the parliament, as they had been by the commission, though most immigrant organizations were in favour of them. The state support to the Estonian primary schools which started by a parliamentary decision in 1954 was to continue but it was cut off for the Estonian upper secondary school. The Minister said that the Swedish compulsory school should be a school for all children irrespective of their geographic, social, economic and religious background. No state support was sanctioned for religious minority schools with one exception: the Hillel School, the Jewish school in Stockholm which has existed since 1955 and has had state support during most of this period. According to the

Minister the question of this school should be looked at in the light of a long historical evolution "which means that a people parallel to their adjustment to our own and other Western societies has been at pains to preserve a national and cultural identity" (Kungl. Maj:ts proposition nr 67 år 1968, p. 58). Therefore he recommended state support for the Hillel School in the future, too. The Swedish parliament followed the recommendation of the Minister. Today there are two Estonian schools: one in Stockholm and one in Gothenburg, comprising the first six school years. The Hillel School also has six classes. All three schools are supported both by the state and the local authorities.

Here, for the first time, it is possible to discern the outlines of a conscious language policy for minority children in education. Still there were no developed organizational solutions for many of the proposals, and detailed cost calculations were lacking both as regards the costs to state and local authorities for implementing the decisions. It was not until the commission on immigration had made their proposals in 1974 that language policy was firmly established as will be seen in the next section.

In the educational reform work the idea that the educational system should include all children in the same framework seems to be predominant. Education should be democratic in the sense that there should be no special schools for children of well-to-do parents. Differences in needs should be taken care of within the system. It is evident that immigrant children added new dimensions to these problems but still the idea of a uniform educational system was important.

5.1.3 The Commission on Immigration

5.1.3.1 Reports

In March 1968 the government appointed the Working Group on Immigrant Issues with the task of co-ordinating different measures in the field of immigration. Chairman was Kjell Öberg who became the first director general of the National Immigration and Naturalization Board which was established in 1969 when the working group was dissolved. The group treated a broad spectrum of issues: information to immigrants, education, interpreter services, literary services and initiation of research.

The group tried to improve state support for the teaching of Swedish to adult immigrants both as regards the actual teaching and study materials to be used. It is obvious that they were aware of many problems at an early stage which would be of importance later, like the wish of immigrant parents that their children should be taught their mother tongue. It was possible then to use resources for remedial teaching for this purpose.

In policy matters the group emphasized that positive measures to help the immigrants overcome difficulties in the new country should be given priority to control and restrictions. They also discussed the objectives of the immigrant policy in terms of assimilation and integration. By assimilation they meant a complete surrender of the cultural heritage and by integration maintenance of this heritage. To them a compromise between the two extremes seemed to be the only solution. They initiated research and development work in order to find guidelines for such a compromise.

The Immigration Act of 1954 did not prove to be an instrument for controlling immigration. An amendment was therefore made from January 1, 1966, according to which all immigrants should have a work permit before they could be allowed in. Labour force immigration practically stopped in 1971 when the labour unions became very restrictive with work permits. From that time labour market policy has been directed towards finding work for people already living in the country. Not until 1975 a commission was appointed to revise the Immigration Act of 1954. The commission submitted two reports: one on the administration of immigrant problems (Kortare väntetider i utlänningsärenden, SOU 1977:28) and one on the new Immigration Act (Ny utlänningslag, SOU 1979:64). Neither of them had any explicit implications for minority education.

After receiving authorization from the government the Minister of the Interior appointed a State Commission of Immigration on 28 May 1968. The commission had seven members, all members of parliament. Yngve Möller, representative of the social democratic party, was appointed chairman. His party was the majority party and formed the government at the time. According to its terms of reference the commission should investigate the situation of immigrants and ethnic minorities in Sweden and propose various measures for these groups. Not only immigrants but all ethnic and religious minorities were included with one exception only, the Lapps.

The terms of reference for the commission were based on certain assumptions: Sweden would probably remain an immigration country in the future and should therefore be prepared to receive new groups of immigrants. Many of the existing immigrants, who on the whole had the same rights as Swedish citizens, experienced specific problems related to language, social patterns, living conditions and religions. Even if a large number of the immigrants were to settle down permanently in Sweden they would in many cases wish to retain their linguistic and cultural identity. Special attention should be given to those immigrants who would like to go back to their original countries. Their problems would be easier to solve if they were offered the chance of maintaining contacts with their language, culture and home country when living in Sweden. Immigration would make Sweden more international and steps would have to be taken to ensure that members of all its minority groups were treated on an equal basis with Swedish citizens.

We can here observe a gradual change in the development of an immigrant policy. The proposals of the first commission on labour market policy, in 1965 (section 5.1.1), aimed at adjustment of immigrants exclusively on the terms of the majority population. No attention was paid to long-term effects of the changes in values, traditions and cultural conditions. Language aspects were only mentioned in connection with introductory problems on the labour market. The next commission in 1966 (section 5.1.2) showed great changes of opinion and emphasized the importance of the linguistic and cultural identity of the immigrants and attempts were made to show what role education could play in solving these problems. Now, in 1968, these aspects were given as starting points for the work of the Commission on Immigration. Three reports were submitted by the last commission. The commission published its first report in 1971, entitled The Educational Situation of the Immigrants, Proposals for Education in Swedish for Adult Immigrants (Invandrarutredningen 1, 1971). The commission proposed that all immigrants over 16 should be entitled to attend a course in the Swedish language and in elementary civics of 240 lessons.

The government submitted a proposal based on the work of the commission on 21 June 1972 (Kungl. Maj:ts proposition 1972:100). The parliament passed a law to be effective from 1 July 1973, entitling immigrant employees to 240 hours instruction of Swedish and elementary civics in paid working time. The commission had proposed that this language education should be part of the ordinary educational system and thus the responsibility of the local

school authorities. But the parliament changed this and decided that the voluntary study associations were to be in charge of this education as they organize a great part of adult education in Sweden. These associations are tied to the trade unions or to religious or other organizations.

In its second report, issued in 1972 and entitled Interpreter Services, A Nordic Language Convention (Invandrarutredningen 2, 1972), the commission treated the problem of interpreter services for immigrants and the training of interpreters. Since 1968 such courses existed. The National Immigration and Naturalization Board (Statens Invandrarverk) had become responsible for them from 1969. From the fiscal year 1972/73 both local and regional courses were arranged by the voluntary study organizations. In 1974 the government made some proposals on the basis of the report (Kungl. Maj:ts proposition 1974:1, bilaga 10 G 13) and the parliament made decisions accordingly (Rskr 185, 1974). All government agencies had been receiving financial support since 1971 to use interpreters for their contacts with people who did not manage Swedish on their own. On the basis of this parliamentary regulation it was now decided that the interpreter service should be improved. Different kinds of courses at folk high schools and in study circles were organized. The National Board of Education became responsible for the training of interpreters from the fiscal year 1974/75.

In its main report, Immigrants and the Minorites (Invandrarutredningen 3, 1974) the commission stated that the role of culture and language in immigration had received attention only recently. Not until the 1970s had immigrant policy problems become part of the general political debate in Sweden as demands of political influence and the right for immigrants to vote in local political elections and referendums came to be partly satisfied.

The proposals made by the 1968 Commission on Immigration in its main report (nr 3, 1974) have to a large extent formed the basis of Swedish immigration policy on the labour market, housing, the social situation, cultural policy, education, immigration associations, political influence, and citizenship and authorities concerned with the implementation of an immigration policy. Here we will focus on education.

Since 1974 Swedish immigration policy has been based on the notion that immigration is not a temporary phenomenon but a steady ingredient in the development of Swedish society. The goals of immigrant policy were introduced in 1975 in governmental proposals on guidelines for future immigration

and minority policy (Kungl. Maj:ts prop. 1975:25) and the Swedish parliament decided accordingly (Rskr 1975:160).

5.1.3.2 Goals and Objectives of the Immigrant Policy

The goals of the immigrant and minority policy were formulated in terms of jämställdhet, valfrihet och samverkan (equality, freedom of choice and co-operation). These principles should consequently also characterize the development of the education of immigrants and minorities. In the following the term immigrants will be used, but it should be kept in mind that proposals and decisions should be valid for the national minority groups as well. The analysis in this section is based on the main report of the commission, The Immigrants and the Minorities (Invandrarutredningen 3, 1974).

The first goal, equality, implies that immigrants should have the same rights and opportunities as the rest of the population. Immigration should be adapted to the possibilities of society to provide work, housing, social security and education for immigrants. Linguistic minorities should have access to information, education and culture to the same extent as the majority population. Social and linguistic obstacles should be removed so that immigrants can take part in the cultural life of Sweden. But it should also be possible for them to maintain their own languages, practise their own culture and maintain contacts with their home countries. The commission also stated that the goal of equality has international aspects. Internationalization is a goal for the development of society as a whole and migration should be regarded as an important ingredient in this process.

The second goal, freedom of choice, should assure immigrants of a choice between maintaining their cultural and linguistic identity and assuming a Swedish identity. Consequently it should be possible for immigrants themselves to decide how far they want to be integrated into Swedish society. Resources should therefore be allocated to the different immigrant groups for the development of their own cultural activities. Responsible authorities should try to make the cultural life of Sweden more adequate to the needs, generated by immigration.

In is rather difficult to find a good English expression for the third goal. Co-operation (the Swedish term is "samverkan") will be used here, but the term partnership has been used in a summary of the report in English. This

goal implies co-operation in the form of consensual agreements between immigrant and minority groups themselves and co-operation between these groups and the majority population. It also includes mutual tolerance and solidarity between them and the majority population, to make different minority groups equal parties in society. Implicitly it should give immigrants and minorities influence on decisions concerning their own situation and to have a say in political issues. In 1976 the Swedish parliament gave immigrants the right to vote in local government elections. They also became eligible for local political institutions (Kungl. Maj:ts proposition 23 1975/76 Rskr 78). Sweden was in fact the first country in the world to introduce such a reform.

The goal of co-operation is concerned with increasing understanding between people of different origins by education and information. Attention should be paid by all responsible organizations to the positive effects of immigration.

The suggestions made by the commission in the educational field were concentrated on the education of immigrant children. As mentioned before, the interim report by the commission in 1971 dealt with the educational situation of adult immigrants. Since 1968 there had been an Act of Parliament in existence, entitling immigrant children to auxiliary instruction in comprehensive school. This instruction comprised six periods a week, two of which might be used for lessons in the mother tongue. In 1972 9 000 children attended lessons in their mother tongues in 116 out of the 278 local education areas.

The Commission on Immigration proposed reinforcement of the education for immigrant children and defined the objective of this education as the development of active bilingualism. They made a survey of international and Swedish research in the field of bilingualism and the role of the mother tongue for the linguistic development in their report. As a summary of the research findings the commission emphasized that linguists had shown that it was vital for basic education, including the ability to read and write, to be given in the mother tongue of a child in bilingual and multilingual societies and that the mother tongue should be allowed to develop parallel to the learning of the majority language. The commission discussed the term bilingualism and pointed to the difficulty of defining it unambiguously (op. cit. p. 240). The term can be used about all degrees of knowledge of two languages from completely equal ability in both languages to a very faulty knowledge of one of them.

In the part of the report which dealt with education, the commission introduced a term which has been used in Swedish regulations and guidelines for immigrant education ever since. The term is "home language" and it is defined as the language which is used in an immigrant child's home. When this home language is a minority language, the child is entitled to a certain amount of teaching of and in that language. It may happen that the language used at home is not the child's mother tongue but such cases are likely to be exceptional. In order to avoid misunderstanding through the use of a term which has not been established in the English language, mother tongue will be used in this study as the term to denote the language used by immigrants at home even when the term might not be totally adequate.

The commission pointed to the circumstance that there is no clear definition of the term immigrant child. Usually it is applied to all children of foreign origin whether born in Sweden or abroad, and it is applied both to foreign and to Swedish citizens. The commission used the term immigrant child to denote a child in a family where both or one of the parents had another mother tongue than Swedish. And it should be remembered that decisions on language education apply to children belonging to national long term lingusitic minorities as well.

In a short international survey of the educational situation of immigrant children in Europe the commission found that the number of immigrant children had increased considerably over tha last few years. The host countries had not yet had time to adapt their educational systems to this new situation. Similar introductory measures existed in the countries but language education varied considerably from one country to another.

Three international agreements, which Sweden has signed, were regarded as especially important for education. They are mentioned in Chapter 8 of the report. The first is an agreement on cultural co-operation from 1971 between Denmark, Norway, Finland and Sweden. In paragraph 3 of this agreement it is stated that co-operation in the educational field should aim at making it possible for Nordic citizens, living in another Nordic country to have education in their mother tongue.

In a Unesco convention against discrimination in education which was ratified by Sweden in 1967, it was stated that national minorities should be granted the right to carry on their own educational activities, including

schools, and, according to the educational policy of the country, the use of or education in their own language.

To the Council of Europe-convention of 1950 on protection for human rights and fundamental privileges additional minutes were added in 1952, stating that parents have the right to educate their children in a way which agrees with their religious and philosophical convictions. Sweden ratified the agreement in 1953 with the proviso that parents cannot be freed from the obligation to let their children take part in certain parts of compulsory education and that immigrant children can be exempted from religious education only if religious education is satisfactorily arranged within their own confession.

Chapter 6 Current Policy on the Role of the Mother Tongue in Education

6.1 WORKING GROUP ON IMMIGRANT EDUCATION

Up to the middle of the 1960s no analyses were undertaken of the consequences of immigration for the development of Swedish society or of the situation of immigrants in Sweden. But by the end of the 1960s a debate on immigration started and a number of policy decisions were taken by the parliament. The most important decisions were based on the proposals of the State commissions dealt with in the previous chapter.

The Commission on Immigration laid the foundations of current immigration policy, but in the field of education more detailed suggestions were regarded as necessary. So the Minister of Education was authorized to appoint an ad hoc group with the task of elaborating measures to improve the educational situation of immigrant children. The group was established by the end of 1974. The report of this group was called Suggested Measures for Immigrant Children in Nursery, Comprehensive and Upper Secondary Schools (Förslag om åtgärder för invandrarbarnen i förskola, grundskola och gymnasieskola, 1975). On the basis of the group's suggestions the government put a bill before the parliament in 1976 (Kungl. Maj:ts proposition 1975/76:118, UbU 33) and the bill was passed in May 1976 (Rskr 391). The following are the most important provisions which are still valid.

6.1.1 Pre-school Education

The Pre-school Education Act came into effect on 1 July 1975. Pre-school is regarded as part of the child care undertaken by society. The local authorities are obliged to offer pre-school education to all six-year-old children. Children who need special support should as far as possible be offered pre-school education from an earlier age. Immigrant children who have come to Sweden at pre-school age or who were born in Sweden by parents who are immigrants are considered to be in need of special support and stimulus for linguistic reasons.

Some experimental research projects had been carried out since 1971, aimed at finding educational and organizational models for pre-school education for immigrant children. The results indicated, according to the ad hoc group, that early training of the mother tongue was vital for the linguistic development of immigrant children. It was decided that different models might be used for mother tongue teaching depending on the local conditions. Whenever possible, monolingual groups of immigrant children from the age of four should be organized, led by bilingual personnel. If this should not be possible, groups of Swedish-speaking children should be arranged together with immigrant children, all having the same mother tongue. In this case the group of immigrant children are entitled to mother tongue training up to six hours a week. In other cases, when immigrant children are too few for such arrangements, they should all be integrated with Swedish-speaking children and have training of their different mother tongues up to six hours a week.

6.1.2 Comprehensive School and Upper Secondary School

As a basis for the organization of auxiliary education for immigrant children and for the allocation of state resources, local educational authorities should make regular inventories of the needs of all immigrant children for special measures. The local authorities are responsible for auxiliary education but state resources are granted to finance it.

Auxiliary education should consist of two parts: Swedish language lessons and study guidance, which can be given in all subjects. Satisfactory knowledge of Swedish is regarded as a necessary prerequisite of successful further schooling. The lessons are given by Swedish teachers. The groups are usually small (3-5 pupils). Study guidance aims at helping the pupils to overcome difficulties and delays in their studies, caused by insufficient knowledge of Swedish. The instruction is given by teachers who know the pupil's mother tongue. Study material in the mother tongue can be used if it is available. Study guidance can be given in any subject where the pupils need help to follow their ordinary classes.

The extent of auxiliary education for every child is established on the basis of an assessment of the child's knowledge of the Swedish language. It is done by the teacher of Swedish and the teacher of the mother tongue together with the aid of a six-point assessment scale.

Comprehensive school pupils in whose home environment another language than Swedish is used, are entitled to be taught their mother tongues. It is compulsory for immigrant pupils to take part in auxiliary education, Swedish and study guidance, but it is up to the parents and the pupils themselves to decide on participation in the mother tongue lessons.

Students in upper secondary schools are also offered mother tongue lessons, study guidance in their mother tongue and auxiliary lessons in Swedish. It is possible for them to exchange one required foreign language for their mother tongue. It should, however, be another language than English.

Calculations of immigrant education costs are based on resources equivalent to 4 lessons a week for every group, consisting of an average of 4 students. There are no detailed state regulations concerning the use of the resources. Local authorities are responsible for organizing the education of immigrant children in such a way that the needs of the individuals and the local conditions are taken into account.

6.1.3 Teacher Training

Immigration has created new demands on existing teacher training and on new kinds of teacher training. Various measures have been taken by responsible authorities in order to improve the education of the teachers, involved in immigrant education.

All personnel in a school need better knowledge of immigration and of the background of immigrants. They should also be aware of the aims of the established immigrant policy, and this calls for extensive information and educational measures. It implies new methodological and social problems both in language education and in other subjects whose contents and characteristics may be affected by the cultural background of the pupils. Teachers should be prepared to handle this new situation.

In 1977 a two-year course for mother tongue teachers was established. This training has been given to teachers of Finnish, Greek, Turkish, Spanish and Serbo-Croatian. These teachers are qualified to work in pre-schools, compulsory schools and upper secondary schools. They teach the mother tongue, give study guidance in the mother tongue and they also have social contact work for immigrant children.

Special appointments as teachers of mother tongues for non-qualified teachers have been established from 1 July 1977 by a parliamentary decision. A number of active mother tongue teachers have been declared qualified for these appointments. A teacher certificate has not been a prerequisite for this. Good knowledge of the mother tongue and employment as a teacher for one and a half years should be enough for admission. The number of teachers of the mother tonge has increased from 835 in 1974 to 3 384 in 1979. 1 140 or 34 per cent of them were qualified for appointment in school. There were in 1979 mother tongue teachers in 248 out of the 278 local education areas. These figures have been taken from a report on mother tongue teachers in compulsory and secondary education in Sweden, published in 1980 (Hemspråkslärare i grundskolan och gymnasieskolan, vecka 20, år 1979). There is still a shortage of qualified teachers in this field.

Teacher education for primary teachers with both Finnish and Swedish as languages of instruction has existed since 1974. The need for bilingual teachers is great, however, and the need will increase as more and more immigrants are found at all levels of the education system. Finnish is now the main foreign language next to English in the Swedish schools. Although the methodology of Swedish as a foreign language is quite different, it has only been acknowledged as a separate school subject for a short period of time. Now there are special university courses of Swedish as a foreign language, but they are not included in teacher education. Students who take these courses usually work in adult education. In teacher education there are optional courses in Swedish as a foreign language. But today most teachers of Swedish as a foreign language have had no specific training for this subject. In 1979 the National Board of Education started in-service training courses for teachers of Swedish as a foreign language. These courses last seven weeks. Teachers take part in them without any reductions of their salaries.

Most problems within teacher education for immigrant education have not yet been solved. The National Board of Education has made a programme for their work with immigrant education, called The Immigrants and the Educational System (Invandrarna och utbildningsväsendet, 1979). It is emphasized there that the reform work in the field of immigrant education is heavily dependent on a satisfactory teacher training. There has been a state commission working for several years on proposals for future teacher training in Sweden. Their main report (Teachers for a School in Development, Lärare för skola i utveckling, 1978) will form the basis of parliamentary decisions in this field. Many of the proposals have appeared to be controversial.

Organizations concerned have reacted in different ways to them. It will obviously take some time before a new system of teacher training has been settled. Solutions for immigrant education can only be found if immigrant education is integrated into all other aspects of teacher education. It is also important to find means of planning in-service activities as part of teacher education and eventually overcome the problem that only interested and alert teachers take part in in-service training activities. As regards immigrant education most teachers had their initial training in a period when immigrant problems in education had not been included.

6.2 TRENDS FOR THE FUTURE

6.2.1 The National Level

In the action programme on immigrant education for the National Board of Education, referred to in the preceding section (Invandrarna och utbildningsväsendet, 1979), it has been stated that an immigrant policy in education should include measures both for the immigrants and the majority population. All people should understand that Sweden is now a multilingual and multicultural society and learn to appreciate this. Deficient knowledge can make people afraid and even hostile to other groups. It has been emphasized in the programme that if necessary decisions are not made now, this will have repercussions in the future and that education has a key position in these efforts.

The basis of this action programme is the three goals of immigrant policy, which have been set by the Swedish parliament: equality, freedom of choice and co-operation and more specifically the aim for the education of immigrant pupils, i.e. active bilingualism.

The programme contains both short-term and long-term measures and should develop the three general aims and put them into practice. Most of the organizational framework for these efforts has been described earlier in this chapter. A working group has been appointed to follow up the programme, as continuous evaluation and adjustment of the programme to the general development of society should be undertaken so that new issues may be included. Research projects are planned and launched in order to evaluate the contents, quality and organization of immigrant language education. But other aspects should also be taken into account in the research work such as internationalization of instruction and promotion of cultural pluralism.

6.2.2 The Local Level

The Swedish parliament decided on goals and guidelines for compulsory education on 14 February 1980. These form the first part of the 1980 general curriculum for the compulsory school. The starting-points are the first lines of the Education Act (SFS 1962:319, with later amendments):

> "The purpose of the instruction which society provides for children and young persons is to equip the pupils with knowledge, to develop their skills and in co-operation with their homes to promote their development into happy individuals and into competent and responsible members of the community" (translation provided by the Ministry of Education in an information bulletin). (Skollag och skolförordning, 1981, p. 13)

The aims of mother tongue teaching and Swedish as a foreign language are described at some length in the curriculum pp. 56-57 (Läroplan för grundskolan Lgr 80, 1980). In Swedish documents the term used is home language and not mother tongue. The continuity of language education and the access to it both for immigrants and for original minorities are first emphasized (translation provided by the National Board in an information material):

> "Home language practice is provided for pre-school children in pre-school institutions and elsewhere. This practice must be continued in compulsory school in the form of home language lessons. The main criterion must be the needs of the pupils concerned. Instruction must be arranged for pupils having a minority language as their home language, i.e. both immigrants and pupils belonging to other minorities in Sweden."

Two main aims for mother tongue teaching are set as follows:

> "The purpose of home language instruction must be to maintain and develop the child's knowledge of the language which it employs in its everyday surroundings. This will serve to stimulate the child's emotional, linguistic and intellectual development, as well as giving the child an opportunity to blend and identify with the cultural background of its parents or guardians.
>
> Another purpose of this instruction is for the pupils eventually to be able to become bilingual and thus feel at home in two cultures. They must be assisted and encouraged to develop their ability to listen, understand, speak, read and write. The aim is for the pupil to be willing, able and unafraid to use his or her home language in various situations."

Contacts between schools and parents are important in order to make parents aware of the aims of mother tongue education and study guidance in the mother tongue:

> "Participation in home language instruction is voluntary. But for the sake of the children's linguistic development and their identity with familiar cultural traditions, it is essential for them to be given the opportunity of working with their home languages during their school career. It is therefore the duty of schools to try to convey information to all parents and to get in touch with homes by means of outreach activities. Persons with direct experience of this teaching are best qualified to communicate its implications and importance. Liaison work of this kind is included in the duties of home language teachers.
>
> In addition to home language instruction, pupils are entitled to study assistance in their home languages. The purpose of study assistance is to support the teaching of various subjects and to provide further stimulus for linguistic development.
>
> Senior level pupils can take home languages as an optional subject."

The rest of the guidelines are devoted to organizational questions and local planning is emphasized:

> "Municipal authorities, acting in consultation with local immigrant organizations, immigrant pupils and immigrant parents, must be able to organize instruction in such a way as to make the best possible provision for the general development of the pupils concerned. Thus it is the duty of the LEA* within the framework of the means provided by the State, to strike a balance between inputs relating to home language instruction, home language study assistance and home language as an optional subject. The organizational arrangements adopted may, for example, mean concentrating the bulk of teaching on the junior level of compulsory school, organizing special classes and so on.
>
> Instruction in Swedish as a foreign language must be arranged by schools for pupils not speaking Swedish as their native language. This instruction is compulsory. Here again the choice of organization rests with the school."
>
> * Local Education Authority

6.2.3 Diversified Education

Over the last few years education for minority children has tended to be offered in more varied ways than was the case before. It has now become possible to arrange the teaching of minority children in preparatory classes with a common mother tongue and in these classes that language is used as the medium of instruction. There are also preparatory classes for

minority children with different mother tongues. Certain classes have been established which consist of Swedish pupils and a group of minority pupils with only one mother tonghe. In most such classes the minority children are either Finnish or Yugoslav. In a report (Statistiska meddelanden, 1979) it is stated that in the autumn term of 1978 in the compulsory school

42 307 children took part in mother tongue teaching,
45 768 lessons were used for this teaching every week,
4 058 pupils wanted to take part in this education but could not,
14 438 pupils took part in study guidance in their mother tongues,
32 166 pupils had auxiliary education in Swedish as a second language, and
43 463 lessons were used for this every week.

This evolution is the result of a conscious policy and a consequence of a series of political decisions - compare the situation in 1964, illustrated on page 51.

In the same year (1978) there were 367 preparatory classes in the comprehensive school with one common language which is used as medium of instruction. Most of them were Finnish: 278. But there were also 20 Assyrian classes, 6 Greek, 25 Serbo-Croatian, 17 Spanish and 20 Turkish. There were 84 classes for minority children with different languages and without any Swedish pupils. 163 classes consisted of Swedish pupils and minority pupils with only one mother tongue. Since 1977 there have been a few Finnish-speaking classes at the upper secondary level in Stockholm. A follow-up study is carried out in order to see if such classes should be established in other areas, where there are many immigrant pupils.

It is worth noticing about the figures given here that the number of pupils who received instruction in their mother tongue was eleven times as high in 1978 as it was in 1970. About four per cent of all pupils in compulsory school now take part in this education. The number of classes for pupils with another mother tongue is five times as high as it was in 1974.

6.2.4 A New Commission on Immigration

In 1980 the government authorized the responsible minister to appoint a new Commission on Immigration. This commission is to review the guidelines of 1968 for immigration into Sweden and suggest how measures for immigrants and minorities could be further developed. The Commission was to survey factors, influencing immigration and emigration in a more long-term

perspective, and suggest basic principles for Swedish immigration policy. An important part of its work was to be aimed at improving the general conditions of immigrants and ethnic minorities.

The aims of the policy, defined as equality, freedom of choice and co-operation, were to be valid in the future too. But it is stated in the Commission's terms of reference that the aims have to be defined more clearly. One example of this is to show how the efforts towards social and economic equality could be combined with the rights of the minorities to preserve their own cultures and languages. The commission was to concentrate on proposals as to how measures should be adapted to the specific conditions and needs of the different minority groups. Thus immigrants should no longer be treated as one group. The commission was also to consider how society should offer the linguistic minorities in Sweden education, public care and public service in their own languages. A survey of the educational situation of the minorities and of their problems on the labour market was also to be submitted.

The official policy has developed from a policy of assimilation on the terms of the majority group, advocated by the Commission on Labour Market Policy in their report 1966, to the acceptance of the rights of the immigrants to maintain their languages and culture. As a consequence mother tongue teaching is now regarded as an important means of reaching the aims of immigrant policies.

Part II The Case Study of Britain

Chapter 7 The Education System

7.1 DEVOLVED ADMINISTRATION

This survey is restricted to the education of children and young people up to the age of 18 or 19 just as the previous one for Sweden. Local school administration has a long tradition in Britain. Local school boards were established by Parliament through the 1870 Education Act. These boards should provide elementary education in their areas with money, raised from local rates, school fees and national taxes. They could decide themselves, whether primary education should be compulsory or not within their areas. Compulsory education for all citizens was established by an Education Act in 1880.

The government had as its instrument the Committee of the Privy Council on Education which was initiated by Parliament in the 1856 Education Act. But in response to pressure for a national system of education this committee was replaced in 1900 by the Board of Education.

In a booklet, published by the Department of Education and Science (The Educational System of England and Wales, 1978), the organization of the system is described as "a national system locally administered" (p. 1). This partnership between central government and local authorities began with the 1870 Education Act. In the following Acts of 1902, 1918 and 1944 Parliament consolidated this shared responsibility, extended the range of educational provision and increased the period of compulsory education.

By the 1944 Education Act Parliament decided that a Minister of Education should be appointed, whose task should be to "promote the education of the people of England and Wales" and to support "the progressive development of institutions devoted to that purpose" (op.cit., p. 3). The minister should also be responsible for the maintenance of minimum standards of education. But the underlying principle of decentralization and partnership was retained. The Board of Education was replaced by a Ministry of Education by the same Act. In 1947 the school leaving age was raised to 15 and in

1972 to 16. In the latest Education Act of 1976 Parliament empowered the Secretary of State to direct local authorities to submit plans to reorganize secondary education in order to make it more comprehensive. In a consultative document the Secretary of State writes:

> "Four fifths of our boys and girls now attend comprehensive schools. The comprehensive school is at the centre of the objective of the Government's policy on secondary education. The objective of the comprehensive system is to offer to every boy or girl educational opportunities appropriate to his or her ability, aptitudes and personal motivation. It recognizes the importance of educating together young people from different backgrounds, as an essential preparation for a more united and understanding society" (Education in Schools, 1978, 2.6, p. 9).

The government may express this kind of policy, but it is up to the local authorities to decide if, when and how the education system in their areas will become comprehensive.

7.2 CENTRAL AUTHORITIES

The Department of Education and Science (DES) was established in 1964, when the Ministry of Education and the Office of the Minister of Science were amalgamated. The Department is small, compared to other state departments. In September 1977 the number was 2 777. In the Department they are almost entirely concerned with the formation of national policies for education. They do not decide on curricula for the schools and they do not run schools or colleges. But they are responsible for the funding of educational building and for the supply, training and pensions of teachers. And they play an important part in determining the grants, given by the central government to local authorities.

The Department also initiates research related to policy problems from universities and other agencies such as the National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER) and supports the development of school curricula and examinations. The Schools Council is an important instrument for this work. This council was established in 1964 to undertake research and development work in the fields of curriculum, teaching methods and examinations. It is financed by the Department of Education and Science and local education authorities together. The majority of its members are teachers. Many research and development projects have been carried out by the council. Reports, guides and didactic materials have been published as results of

the projects and they are widely used in the schools. Last year the Council was reorganized in order to increase the influence of parents. The number of great national projects, especially in the field of production of didactic materials has decreased. Instead the Council supports minor local projects and concentrates on the national level on the development of teaching methods and evaluation. In 1981 a group of educational researchers are working on a project of self-evaluation for teachers.

The Department is assisted by members of Her Majesty's Inspectorate in exercising its responsibiltiy for minimum national standards of education. Both public and independent schools are open to inspection. H M Inspectors give advice to local education authorities, schools and colleges and discuss different kinds of problems, both educational and administrative, with them. The inspectors conduct short courses for teachers as part of the in-service training programme and they publish surveys, advisory booklets and discussion papers. There are about four hundred inspectors in England and about fifty in Wales. They enjoy a marked degree of professional freedom.

7.3 LOCAL EDUCATION AUTHORITIES

Locally elected bodies play an important role in the education system. The local education authorities are responsible for the running of the schools and colleges in their areas and the recruitment and payment of the teachers. They also provide buildings, materials, equipment and advisory services. The Department of Education and Science approves of building programmes and sets standards for school premises. There are 105 local education authorities consisting of: the Inner London Education Authority, the 20 outer London boroughs, 40 counties and 36 metropolitan districts in England and the eight Welsh counties.

The administration in each one of these areas is led by a Chief Education Officer and he is assisted by a number of professional and administrative staff, usually a number of subject advisers, organisers and local inspectors.

7.4 THE SCHOOLS

School education is compulsory between the ages of 5 and 16. About 6 per cent of the pupils remain in this system until the age of 18 in the two year course called the sixth form. The certificate they get at 16 is at O-level and the one at 18 at A-level, which is a prerequisite for university

entrance. Vocational training is not the responsibility of the educational but of the labour market authorities and more specifically the Commission for Manpower Services. This was set up in 1973 and is an agency where industrial employers, industrial trade unions and local authorities are represented. The Manpower Services Commission is charged primarily with the promotion of training and placement. But in the current situation with youth unemployment causing concern the commission has also been given the task of providing special programmes for them.

There are no school fees in publicly maintained schools. But there are about 2 300 independent primary and secondary schools, where parents have to pay fees for their children. Independent schools must register with DES and be open to inspection. There are independent schools for all stages. The largest of them are the public schools, where the pupils start when they are about 12. There are about 460 public schools, and pupils are usually accepted there only after an entrance examination. Most of these schools are single-sex and boarding schools. The fees are now on the average 2 100 pounds a year. In some cases local education authorities assist with the payment.

Education in the maintained system includes two phases, primary and secondary. In a growing number of areas the system is now divided into three phases, first, middle and upper. Traditionally primary education comprised the ages 5 to 11 and secondary the ages 11 to 18. Middle schools take children at the age of 8 or 9 up to 11. One of the reasons for introducing middle schools was that they should form a link between the informal class teaching of the first school years and the more formal subject teaching in secondary education.

Education for children under five years of age is not compulsory. A programme to provide nursery schooling was started in 1968 as part of a scheme to give aid to urban areas of special social needs. In 1974 a general expansion of nursery schools started, aimed at providing places for all 3 and 4 year-old children, whose parents wanted them to attend nursery education. But over the last few years the economic situation has made it necessary to cut down public expenditure. Therefore priority is now given to help disadvantaged children and the expansion of nursery education has to a great extent been postponed.

In secondary education comprehensive schools, where all the children are admitted, have been established in most areas. By 1977 about 80 per cent of the pupils attended comprehensive schools in England and Wales. But in areas where this system has not been introduced, children are selected for education in three different types of secondary schools according to their abilities and academic attainment. Grammar schools cater for selected pupils between 11 and 18 in mainly academic courses, secondary modern schools offer general education with a more practical approach. They take them up to 16 but many stay longer. There are also some technical schools which specialize in technical studies on an academic basis. Courses for the voluntary years between 16 and 18 are given either in the ordinary schools or in further education colleges. As a very low percentage stay on in the ordinary schools, most students of that age are found within these further education colleges. The proportion of pupils staying on beyond sixteen has hardly changed since the early 1970s. Almost 30 per cent of young people between 16 and 18 stay in full-time education (Booth, 1980).

Education for children who are mentally and physically handicapped is given in many different ways, and it would be beyond the scope of this short introduction to go into this system. But it should be noticed that the right to education for all children has been recognized since 1971, however severe their handicap is. This right was confirmed when the education authorities became responsible for the education of handicapped children, which until then had been a task for the health authorities.

7.5 ADMINISTRATION OF INDIVIDUAL SCHOOLS

The administration of the individual schools varies according to the status of the schools. There are two categories: county schools and voluntary schools, which have been established by other organizations, often the churches, but are financially supported by the local education authority. More than two thirds of the primary schools and four fifths of the secondary schools are county schools. Both county schools and voluntary schools are in the publicly maintained sector. There is a body of people, called managers in primary schools and governors in secondary schools, who are responsible for the conduct and the curriculum of the school together with the head teacher. This body is appointed by the local authority in county schools.

The voluntary schools fall into three categories: controlled, aided and "special agreement" schools. The controlled schools are totally financed by the local authority, the aided schools get up to 85 per cent financial support and schools of the third category get less financial support, mainly for building costs. The influence of the local education authorities on the voluntary schools varies according to the extent of financial support they receive.

7.6 SCHOOL EXAMINATIONS

There are mainly two examinations at school. One is the General Certificate of Education (GCE), ordinary level (O-level) and advanced level (A-level). The other is the Certificate of Secondary Education (CSE). The first examination, the GCE, has been in existence since 1951 and there are eight examining bodies responsible for it. These bodies are usually connected with a university. O-level examinations are taken at 16 and comprise many subjects. The candidates are allowed to choose themselves how many they want to take. A-level examinations are only offered in certain subjects and are taken two years later. Two or mostly three subjects are usually required for entrance to a university. But entrance requirements vary a great deal from one institution to another.

The CSE is intended for average ability pupils of about 16 after they have completed five years of secondary education. Materials for the examinations are based on the work of the different schools and vary between the schools. But fourteen regional examining boards, consisting of teachers, are responsible for the educational control of the certificates. The CSE-certificate can be used when young people apply for jobs or for education at the further education colleges.

7.7 THE CURRICULUM AND THE TEACHERS

Decisions on the content of the curriculum and teaching methods are usually left to the head teacher and the staff of the individual schools, though legally the local education authorities and school governors are responsible for this. This has always been the case. But over the last two decades curriculum development has been supported at the national level. The development work has included breaking down traditional boundaries between subjects, thus promoting integrated studies. Local curriculum development has often been initiated and carried out at teachers' centres, set up by the

local education authorities to make it possible for teachers to meet, to work together and to organize in-service training. The national agency in the field of curriculum development is the Schools Council, earlier mentioned (7.2).

There is a diversified system of further education, adult education and higher education in existence but this survey is limited to primary and secondary education.

Teacher training is offered both within the system of non-university higher education and within the universities. The courses usually take three or four years. In-service training is recognized as an important part of teacher training. In 1972 the James Committee recommended in their report (Teacher Education and Training, James Report, 1972) that new teachers should be released from school work at least one-fifth of their time. In-service training is offered in many different ways: teacher training institutions provide courses and so do local education authorities and teachers' associations. Short courses organized by H M inspectors have been mentioned earlier (7.2).

According to DES-reports (The Educational System of England and Wales, 1978, p. 43), there were in 1976 9 199 781 pupils in the maintained system of England and Wales and 545 314 in the non-maintained schools. There were 707 440 school leavers in 1976 (op.cit. p. 44) and this number excludes certain independent schools and special schools but includes school leavers at both 16 and 18.

A major concern of education authorities and politicians is the unemployment of young people, especially from the minority groups. A White Paper, issued by the Department of Employment on 15 December 1981, contains ten recommendations by the Manpower Services Commission in its New Training Initiative. It is suggested that one billion pounds should be allocated to a scheme, guaranteeing from September 1982 a full year's foundation training for all those leaving school at the minimum age without jobs. It should be compulsory in that no social security funds would be given to those who do not take part.

Chapter 8 National Minorities in England

8.1 THE WELSH AND THEIR LANGUAGE IN EDUCATION

Wales is one of the four countries which constitute the United Kingdom. For a very long time its development has been linked to the rest of Britain. But Wales has also developed a unique cultural, social and economic identity which to a great extent is the result of historical evolution.

During the Iron Age a Celtic language was brought to Wales by a people who invaded the country before the Roman invasion. The Celtic culture survived the Roman occupation and continued to develop after the Roman period. The language formed the basis of modern Welsh. Together with other Celtic languages it belongs to a branch of the Indo-European language group. It is called Cymric from the word Cymru, which is the Welsh name of Wales.

Heroic poetry in this language dates back to the 6th century A.D. and has consequently one of the oldest literary traditions in Europe. Modern literary Welsh developed in the Middle Ages and gave rise to literary works of high quality. But gradually it was written less. The spoken Welsh language became influenced by English. In 1536, through the Act of Union, Wales became politically and economically united with England and thereby the Welsh language lost its official status.

Today there is a State Secretary for Wales. He is responsible for the administration of primary and secondary education. There are 13 administrative counties and four urban county boroughs, which have their own local administration. The educational system is devolved as it is in the rest of Britain and all districts have their local Education Authorities. But there is also a national educational organization, the Welsh Joint Education Committee, to whose work all Local Education Authorities contribute.

The traditional Welsh culture has to a great extent always been oral. Vocal music has been very important. Wales is still well-known for its choral singing. The Welsh culture has by tradition been linked to the rural life

of the country. In the 18th century Methodists and other puritan religious movements added austerity and severity to it. Schools were also established during this period to teach people to read the bible in Welsh. During the first decades of the 18th century it was estimated that the population was about 80 per cent Welsh-speaking. The knowledge of English was confined to the upper classes - to the educated people of the cities. In the Industrial Revolution a great many English-speaking workers came to the mines and the factories in Wales, and they were so many that they never abandoned their English language.

Since 1891 there has been a question in the censuses to the people in Wales whether they speak only English, only Welsh or both languages. By 1901 English speakers outnumbered Welsh speakers for the first time. Out of a population of 2 012 876 only 929 824 were reported as Welsh-speaking and 180 985 could speak Welsh only (General Report of the Census of 1901, 1904). Compulsory education implied new difficulties for the survival of the Welsh language.

In Britain the authorities hesitated for a long time, before they allowed the national government to intervene in education. At the beginning of the 19th century education was regarded as entirely the concern of voluntary or private organizations. State intervention began with a small building grant to voluntary societies in the 1830s. A few years later a committee was established to administer the annual state grants and to arrange for the inspection of voluntary schools, aided by public funds. This led to the establishment of a small central education department, which was the beginning of the ministry of education. The English educational system has been built on the Elementary Education Act, passed by Parliament in 1870. According to this act it was left to the school boards, as these first local education authorities were called, to decide if they should make elementary education compulsory in their districts or not. In 1880 elementary education was made compulsory by law in England and Wales.

In the Welsh schools English was used as the medium of instruction. The Welsh language was totally ignored in education. Strong measures were taken to abolish the use of Welsh both in the playground and in the classroom. The teachers were told by the responsible authorities not to allow any Welsh at all. This policy made almost all Welsh-speaking people bilingual, as they used English in official contexts and Welsh within their families. But those who spoke only English did not learn any Welsh.

But the views on the role of the Welsh language in education gradually changed. Since 1907 the education authorities have tried to make education in Wales bilingual. A policy was then adopted, whereby the Welsh language should be used as the medium of instruction in schools, where Welsh is the children's mother tongue. It was recommended that the curriculum should include Welsh as a subject in schools in Wales, where the medium of instruction was English. Most local authorities adopted this bilingual policy. The Welsh language has got other kinds of support as well. Government funds for Welsh literature, art, music and drama are allocated by the Welsh Arts Council. The Welsh Theatre Company comprises both a Welsh and an English language section. Financial support is also granted for publications in Welsh and English.

Today Welsh culture is struggling to maintain its characteristics. The preservation of the Welsh language is an important part of this. Modern communications have made the contacts with the outside world easier and mass media have influenced Wales not only from England but from all English-speaking countries. The Welsh language is above all known by people in rural parts of Wales nowadays. By 1970 about 25 per cent of the population of about two and a half million could speak Welsh. And there were great regional variations. In certain areas in the eastern and southern parts only 10 per cent and in other parts in the north over 90 per cent could speak Welsh. (These figures have been taken from articles on Wales and Celtic languages in the Encyclopedia Britannica.)

The common language model used in the Welsh schools over the last decades has been the following: Education through the medium of the mother tongue in infant schools - ages 5 to 7. In junior schools - ages 7 to 11 - Welsh-speaking pupils have continued to receive some instruction through the medium of Welsh, but some subjects like arithmetic have been taught through English. In secondary schools English has been used as the medium of instruction. Welsh has existed as a subject, taught to some pupils at a mother tongue level and to others at a second language level.

In the 1970s the official status of Welsh improved. The parents became more interested in increasing its use in schools. The same trend can be observed in many countries. National minorities have become more aware of the value of their own cultural and linguistic identity, as has already been observed about the Lapps in Sweden (p. 34).

The use of Welsh in education is strongly advocated in a policy document which was presented in July 1977 to Parliament by the Secretary of State for Education and Science and the Secretary of State for Wales. Under the heading Welsh in the Curriculum of the Schools in Wales, it it stated:

> "2.24. English is the language of the majority of the people of Wales and the need for competence in English referred to earlier applies equally to schools in Wales. But Welsh is the first language of a significant proportion of the population and is a national language in Wales. It has played an important part in shaping contemporary Welsh society; and it is the focal point of a heritage of which children in Wales need to become aware if they are to understand their identity and their place within the United Kingdom. It is for these reasons that children in Wales should be given the opportunity to have Welsh in their curriculum in accordance with parental wishes and where practical considerations allow. The evidence does not suggest that either the inclusion of Welsh in the curriculum or its use as a medium of teaching has harmful effects on general educational progress.
>
> 2.25. In areas where Welsh is used extensively it is a proper objective of the curricula of the schools to enable pupils to develop a command of the language which will allow them to enter fully into the life of their community. Where Welsh is spoken only by small minorities the objectives are necessarily different. Some children whose home language is not Welsh may aspire to fluency. Others may reach worthwhile levels of attainment in comprehension and appreciation of the history and society of Wales ..." (Education in Schools, 1978).

8.2 THE SCHOOLS COUNCIL BILINGUAL EDUCATION PROJECT

The Schools Council launched a bilingual education project for the ages five to eleven in 1968. The project ran for nine years. It was aimed at enabling English speaking children to achieve a good standard of attainment in Welsh by the end of their primary education. The programme has not been only a new course for the teaching of Welsh, but it also includes Welsh, as well as English, as the medium of instruction. It was thought that this would make the children participate more in both cultures. For children, taking part in the project, the school day was divided into two parts: one where English was used and the other where Welsh was used. The bilingual programme was introduced immediately after they started school and it continued until they finished their primary education. The teachers who became involved in the project had a difficult task. They were used to teaching only in the children's mother tongue but in this new situation they had to consider how to communicate with their pupils in a language, which was new to them.

The project experiences were accounted for in a publication by the Schools Council Committee for Wales, entitled Bilingual Education in Wales 5 - 11 (1978). They were founded on the participation of fairly many pupils. In a publication, Statistics of Education in Wales (1979, p.4) published by the Welsh office it is stated that in September 1978 there were 486 infant classes and 620 junior classes where the Schools Councils Bilingual Project was used. Some of the research carried out within the project was aimed at measuring the general attainments of the pupils in the basic subjects: English, reading and mathematics. Two testing programmes were constructed in order to compare pupils of the project schools to a control sample outside the project. Eight schools were drawn to represent the project group and eight to represent the control group. The samples both contained schools of similar types, for example one city surburban school with mainly middle-class children, one large school in an industrial area and one rural school from each group. No evidence was found that general intellectual development and attainment in the basic subjects suffered from the use of the bilingual education programme. No significant differences were found between project pupils and control group pupils at the ages of seven and nine in English, English reading, mathematics or non verbal ability. In the whole testing programme only one significant difference was found between the means of the two groups. And that was in the verbal ability test, given to the nine-year-old pupils. In the highest socio-economic category the means of the project group were significantly higher than those of the control group (statistically significant at the 5% level). The researchers remarked that it is possible that socially advantaged pupils gain more than others from a programme of bilingual education. The scores this group obtained in the reading test and the English test, however, were not significantly higher than those of the control group.

The same two age-groups, seven and nine, were chosen for the testing of Welsh attainment. Two tests were used for each age level: a group test of listening comprehension and an individual oral test for the seven-year-olds, and for the nine-year-olds a group test of reading comprehension and an individual oral test. In the report the Senior Research Officer of the Project, Eurwen Price, summarized some of his findings as follows:

> "1. A basic essential for the successful implementation of a programme of bilingual education is an adequate supply of bilingual teachers who are willing to participate in such a programme.

2. In the infant schools the allocation of adequate time to second-language activities (ideally half the school day) proved to be a most important factor in second language attainment. Drastic curtailment of time devoted to work in the second language resulted in a low level of achievement in the second language.

...

4. In junior schools where bilingual teachers had favourable attitudes towards using the second language as a medium of instruction in a variety of learning contexts, attainment in the second language was significantly higher than when the implementation of the project was hampered by inflexibility, inadequate provision of time, unfavourable teacher attitudes or shortage of bilingual staff.

5. The skill of understanding speech in the second language was generally well established by the age of seven.

...

8. There is evidence of consolidation and improvement of second-language speech skills between the ages of seven and nine. Average and above-average pupils showed a fair degree of fluency by the age of nine and were usually undismayed by any deficiencies in their second language vocabulary. Below average pupils, however, were disappointing and cannot be said to have reached a speech level anywhere near that of native speakers.

9. The level of Welshness present in the background of the pupil and his school would seem to have some effect on his attainment of speech skills, but not on his attainment in other more passive areas of linguistic competence, except where the project could not be implemented satisfartorily. ..." (Op.cit, pp. 33-34).

8.3 PROSPECTS OF THE FUTURE

In the above mentioned Statistics of Education in Wales (1979) it is stated (p. 45) that in 1978 there were 33 924 primary school pupils who were assessed as being fluent in Welsh by their headteachers. They made up 13.5 per cent of the age groups five to ten. The corresponding figure for 1971 was 14.5 per cent. In the 1978 publication the following information according to table 15 is given.

Table 15. Welsh education

	Number	%
Taught Welsh as a first language	21 730	9.8
"- second language	89 612	40.4
Not taught Welsh at all	110 523	49.8
Pupils in secondary schools	221 865	100.0

(Op.cit. p. 49)

In a report presented to Parliament by the Minister for Welsh Affairs in November 1963 the following broad principles have been recommended to local authorities:

> "a) in the early years of a child's education, the language of instruction should be his first language or mother tongue;
>
> b) the second language, English or Welsh, should be gradually introduced during those early years;
>
> c) by the age of transfer to secondary education every child's competence in English should be such as to enable him to profit from any type of secondary education;
>
> d) during the years of secondary education, opportunity should be provided for the study of Welsh as a first or second language" (Report on the Welsh Language Today, 1963, p. 99, paragraph 297).

It is also emphasized that local education authorities are responsible for language policy issues. They should decide, on the basis of the linguistic pattern of their areas, how the language policy which has been commended to them should be applied.

In Wales there is a special Council for the Welsh Language with the following terms of reference given by the Secretary of State for Wales:

> "To examine and keep under review social and other factors affecting the use and welfare of the Welsh language and the relationship between these and the use of both languages in Wales;
>
> to promote understanding and co-operation between groups of people and public authorities in Wales regarding the use and encouragement of the Welsh language by giving guidance and making recommendations;
>
> to advise the Secretary of State on matters he may refer to it;

to make recommendations to him on matters affecting the language; and

to report to h[illegible] from time to time" (A Future for the Welsh Language, 1978).

The Council for the Welsh language was requested by the Secretary of State to prepare a report of a policy for the Welsh language. The title of his report is, as has already been mentioned, The Welsh Language Today. In the report they made a survey of all fields which would be influenced by such a policy. They strongly advocated bilingualism, and they used it as a starting point for all their suggestions. The crucial importance of the school-system for the language policy is emphasized:

> "We as a council believe that the aim must be to ensure that bilingual education becomes the norm in Wales. We also believe that the great majority of parents will want their children to have such education, once they fully appreciate, what it means and how advantageous it can be" (op.cit. p. 54).

In their conclusions and recommendations they elaborate this in depth in the following way:

> "...5. Education is crucial to the continued well-being of Welsh as a living language. We recommend that the Government should take steps to enable local education authorities in Wales to establish throughout their areas a continuing provision of bilingual education which, in due course, should become the norm throughout Wales. The immediate first steps should be to make effective bilingual provision, in the voluntary and maintained sectors, more generally available within Wales and to ensure that there is continuity of practice throughout the period of compulsory education" (op.cit. p. 63).

Chapter 9 The Minority Population of Multi-Ethnic Britain

9.1 BACKGROUND AND LEGISLATION

Immigration and emigration have always existed in British society. Various factors have contributed to this during different periods. Many of them can be attributed to relations with the British empire and later with the Commonwealth. Many interesting aspects of migration are dealt with in a publication by Sheila Allen of the University of Bradford in Yorkshire, called New Minorities, Old Conflicts. She writes:

> "Britain's position as the dominant society in an Empire with large coloured populations had affected the structure and the fabric of British society in innumerable ways. Particular stereotypes of coloured colonial subjects that did not emphasize their Britishness but their dependence, backwardness, and lack of 'character' had been fostered by the school, church and army. Some stereotypes of inferiority had been built up and reinforced over long periods of time and had become an integral part of British attitudes" (op.cit. pp. 167-168).

She gives several examples of attitudes to race relations within the empire from different times. They show on the whole that British people considered the "coloured" as "different" and "inferior".

Until the end of World War II the number of coloured people in Britain was very small. There were few situations where white people interacted directly with coloured people. In domestic policies coloured people hardly played any role at all.

Since the end of the nineteenth century there had been a small number of coloured seamen living in the dock areas of cities like Liverpool, Cardiff, Bristol and London. Some of them married British women. The rhythm of their lives was decided by their work far away on ships on the oceans. The small coloured population also included students and businessmen from the colonies. Students came from there to be educated at schools and universities. The businessmen were often linked with white companies that had interests in

countries like India. During the Second World War a number of West Indian and Pakistani servicemen and war workers came to Britain. Many of them stayed after the war had ended. Segregation into coloured communities became the pattern for some groups. Others lived in areas with a dominant white population. According to Allen the degree of acceptance of the coloured people has not entirely been a matter of colour, for socio-economic factors have always been important. But she argues that colour has been used as a means of social differentiation and that later developments have also shown that this is still true. "Coloured Welsh and English people who have never been outside the United Kingdom now find themselves categorized socially and treated as immigrants" (op.cit. p. 35).

The great immigration into Britain started in the 1950s. During the first part of this decade it was to a great extent organized privately by the migrants themselves. But during the last years of the 1950s travel agents, shipping lines and air companies became involved and made different kinds of group arrangements for immigrants. The authorities of the emigration countries reacted differently. Barbados, for instance, assisted emigrants but Pakistan tried hard to get control of the emigration. And from the late 1950s a campaign started in Britain to control immigration from the Commonwealth. First it was confined to a few Conservative members of Parliament, but several violent race riots in 1958 and 1959 increased the interest in control measures.

In 1962 Parliament passed legislation on immigration control: the Commonwealth Immigrants Act. It enabled the immigration authorities to refuse admission unless certain conditions were met. In 1965 the government published a white paper: Immigration from the Commonwealth, which signified alterations in the practice of admitting or excluding immigrants but no new legislation. The Home Secretary instructed the immigration officers the same year to make control strict. Entry should be allowed only to people who had a voucher where employers guaranteed them jobs in Britain or to those who had certain qualifications, like doctors, dentists, trained nurses, qualified teachers and graduates in science and technology. And the numbers of vouchers from the different countries were strictly controlled. In August 1966 new instructions were issued to Immigration officers.

Certain amendments were introduced in the 1968 Commonwealth Immigrants Act. They all signified heavier restrictions on immigration and made the admission of coloured immigrants still more difficult. We will discuss this further in Chapter 10.

9.2 IMMIGRATION STATISTICS

As was mentioned in the previous section of this chapter, migration has existed very long in Britain. During the twentieth century there have been several waves of immigrants: Jews fled from East European countries at the beginning of the century, there were a number of refugees after the First World War, 80 000 displaced Europeans from many countries after the Second World War and 11 000 Hungarians after the revolt in Hungary in 1956. There were no obvious problems in Britain to absorb these new groups. One of the main reasons for this was that, on the whole, the numbers of these immigrants were comparatively small. Most of them were also literate and non-coloured.

Immigration since the Second World War has been dominated by people from Commonwealth countries. It began in 1948 with the arrival of about 500 West Indians, who had served in the Royal Air Force. The numbers of immigrants from Commonwealth countries increased steadily in the 1950s and the 1960s but decreased considerably in the 1970s. Successive Immigrants Acts established a stricter control system.

Table 16. Immigrants in Britain. (Figures in thousands.)[1)]

Immigrants	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970	1975	1978
Total numbers of Immigrants from non-European countries	71.9	84.8	84.7	210.7	225.6	197.2	187.0
Thereof Commonwealth citizens	66.1	72.7	80.2	153.1	155.2	138.3	123.1
Aliens	5.8	12.1	4.6	57.7	70.4	58.8	63.9

It is worth noticing that the number of non-Commonwealth immigrants has increased considerably during the whole period and has constituted half of the total number since the middle of the 1960s. As most immigrant issues have been dealt with as race relations problems in Britain it is important to remember that most non-Commonwealth immigrants have been white.

1) The figures of Tables 16, 17 and 18 have been taken from the Annual Abstracts of Statistics, published by the Central Statistical Office in collaboration with the Statistics Divisions of Government Departments. The following abstracts have been used: No 97-1960 (p. 41), No 102-1965 (p. 19), No 107-1970 (p. 21), and No 116-1980 (p. 27). The latest figures given in the 1980 abstract are from 1978.

The dominating emigration countries during this period have been India, Pakistan, Australia, Canada, and the West Indies. The figures are as follows:

Table 17. Non-European emigrant countries. (Figures in thousands.)

Immigrants from	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970	1975	1978
India and Pakistan	11.9	8.5	5.4	28.5[2]	27.5[3]	15.5[4]	21.6[5]
Australia	7.2	10.3	12'6	19.1	31.2	26.2	18.1
Canada	7.0	10.5	11.2	9.1	14.7	7.2	6.4
West Indies	-[1]	11.9	15.6	21.1	7.4	5.0	4.5

1) No figure is available for 1950, as the West Indies were included under the heading Other

2) Including Ceylon

3) Including Sri Lanka and Bangladesh

4) Bangladesh, India and Sri Lanka 13.3 and Pakistan 2.2 (not a member of the Commonwealth any longer)

5) Bangladesh, India and Sri Lanka 19.1 and Pakistan 2.5

In the 1970s large groups also came from New Zealand and several African states, such as Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) and Uganda.

But during this period of immigration the figures of emigration from Great Britain were also high, in fact higher than the immigration figures:

Table 18. Immigrants and emigrants. (Figures in thousands.)

	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970	1975	1978
Immigrants from non-European countries	71.9	84.8	84.7	210.7	225.6	197.2	187.0
Emigrants to non-European countries	136.3	128.1	93.2	288.3	290.7	238,3	192.4
Balance (immigrants minus emigrants)	-64.4	-43.3	-8.5	-77.6	-65.1	-41.2	-5.5

Besides Commonwealth countries the United States and South Africa have dominated as receivers of British emigrants.

Population censuses in Great Britain have taken place every ten years up to 1961 with the exception of 1941, when the war made it impossible. There was

also a census in 1966. The latest figures are from 1971. From this census - the Country of Birth Tables - the Commission on Racial Equality has taken some interesting information, which was published in a paper in 1978. This commission was set up as a result of decisions taken in the Race Relations Act of 1976. According to the paper mentioned above nearly 3 million people (2 983 140 to be exact) in Great Britain were born abroad. They made up 5.5 per cent of the total population of about 54 million people.

Table 19. Emigrant countries

Countries	Number
Ireland	709 305
Africa	164 205
India	321 995
West Indies	304 070
Germany	157 680
Pakistan (including Bangladesh)	139 935
America	131 540
Poland	110 925
Cyprus	73 295

Children born in Great Britain to people born abroad are not included. The figures for Africa include Asians, mainly from Uganda.

Coloured immigrants are concentrated to industrial areas, whereas there are very few of them in agricultural districts or in fact outside urban districts.

Table 20. Regional distribution (percentages) of coloured immigrants in Britain as compared with Britains

Region	Africa, West Indies, India and Pakistan N = 840 330	United Kingdom N = 45 585 200
North	0.8	7.1
Yorks and Humberside	7.3	10.1
North West	7.0	14.2
E. Midlands	5.8	7.1
W. Midlands	16.7	10.5
E. Anglia	1.1	3.5
S. East	57.7	33.8
S. West	3.0	7.9
Wales	0.6	5.8
	100.0	100.0

(Commission on Racial Equality, 1978)

As can be seen from the table the minority groups are heavily concentrated in the South East - the London area.

The commission states, using OPCS Monitor - May 1977 - as a source that, according to the latest estimates of 1975-76, there were 1 771 000 coloured people in Britain. They form 3.3 per cent of the total population. About 40 per cent of them were born in Great Britain.

In a research report (Smith, 1976), which is built on a recent national survey, it it possible to see when the coloured immigrants came to Britain. The figures are given in per cent:

99

Table 21. Time of arrival and number of (absolute and relative) in Britain analysed by country of origin

	Total	West Indians	Pakistanis/ Bangladeshis	Indians	African Asians
Informants not born in Britain					
(Unweighted)	3 273	1 177	808	860	427
(Weighted)	13 809	5 890	2 287	3 571	2 152
Before 1956	8	12	4	8	*
1956-1959	14	7	9	10	1
1960-June 1962	26	42	24	16	4
July 1962-1964	12	11	14	17	7
1965-February 1968	20	10	24	29	27
March 1968-1971	12	3	19	14	30
1972 onwards	7	1	6	5	31
Not stated	*	*	*	*	-
	99	86	100	99	93

(Op.cit. p. 24)

The asterisk is used to indicate a quantity greater than 0 but less than 0.5 per cent. The dash (-) means nil. (Percentages in the tables of this report are rounded to the nearest whole number. "Not all columns are expected to add to 100 because informants may be allowed to give more than one answer" (op.cit. p. vi).

As can be seen from the table, about 80 per cent of the adult Indians and West Indians and 70 per cent of Pakistanis and Bangladeshis had already arrived by March 1968 when a new Immigration Act was passed. About half of them have been in Britain for more than 15 years. The African Asians form an exception here, as about 60 per cent of them have arrived after 1968, mainly from East Africa. The most recent immigration has been of dependants, wives and children mainly, of husbands already settled in Britain, according to the paper by the Commission on Racial Equality, mentioned earlier.

There is a tendency in Britain, when analysing education or discrimination problems, to lump different immigrant groups together as "coloured people". But as has been emphasized in a report this can be done only from the egocentric viewpoint of the British:

From the point of view of the minority groups themselves this classification must at first have seemed bizarre. Asians and West Indians would not originally have regarded each other as belonging to the same or to similar racial, still less cultural, groups. And the Asians would have far more in common with white British people, whom they had known in India, than with West Indians whom they would never have previously encountered" (Smith, 1976, p. 180).

Chapter 10 The Evolution of a British Minority and Immigrant Policy

10.1 GENERAL POLICY ISSUES

During the whole period of immigration most issues in this field have not been treated as problems of immigration as such but as problems of race relations. Interest has focused on immigrants from the West Indies and the Indian subcontinent.

The first legislation was the Race Relations Act 1965. This Act made it unlawful to discriminate on racial grounds in specified places of public resort. It also dealt with racial restrictions on the transfer of tenancies and with racial hatred. In accordance with the Act Parliament established a Race Relations Board and a number of local committees where complaints should be investigated and where all kinds of disputes on racial grounds should be conciliated. When conciliation could no be reached the Attorney General had the exclusive right to determine if legal proceedings should take place.

In the same year, 1965, a non-statutory National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants was set up. This Committee was very active in the educational field. It established a network of community relations councils, which promoted various activities for the education of immigrants. The Committee also paid attention to teacher education and investigated the work of colleges to prepare teachers for multi-racial and multi-cultural problems in education. They organized conferences together with the Department of Education and Science and other national or voluntary organizations. And they had a wide-spread service in their field. They published informative materiels, gave advice on appropriate speakers for different kinds of meetings and also developed study materials.

The Race Relations Act 1965 was passed in the middle of a wave of emigration from the Commonwealth to Britain. It was difficult to foresee what needed to be done in legislation. Rather soon it was obvious that the scope of the law needed to be extended. One of the basic documents for the decisions in

this field was a report by PEP (Political and Economic Planning). This is a research agency, independent of the political parties. This agency was asked to elucidate, how extensive racial discrimination in Britain was. It also made a series of investigations. The report (Daniel, 1968) showed that racial minority groups faced unfair discrimination in fields which are crucial for the future life of the minority groups. It showed that minority groups were over-represented in crowded and deprived housing areas and that most members of minority groups had manual jobs, even when such jobs were below their general qualifications and experiences.

Parliament passed a new Race Relations Act in 1968. This Act applied to a wide range of situations, where racial discrimination was declared unlawful, such as employment, housing, services to the public and the publication of discriminatory advertisements. Most of the forms of discrimination which had been pointed to in the PEP-report, mentioned earlier, were made unlawful by this new Act. And the Race Relations Board was reconstituted to widen its membership and functions. The Act provided for nine regional conciliation committees, together with the Board, to investigate all complaints of unlawful discrimination except a few specific situations, which were taken care of by other bodies. It also became possible for the Board to investigate any matter, where they had reason to suspect discrimination even if no complaint had been made. The Board or the conciliation committee should try to reach a voluntary settlement in matters of dispute. But when this process failed, the Board had the exclusive right to instigate legal proceedings.

To complement the work of the Board a Community Relations Commission was also set up in accordance with the new Relations Act of 1968. It was a body appointed by the Home Secretary and it replaced the National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants, mentioned earlier. In section 25:3 and 25:4 of the Act the functions of the Commission were described as follows:

> "3. It shall be the duty of the Commission (a) to encourage the establishment of, and assist others to take steps to secure the establishment of harmonious community relations and co-ordinate on a national basis the measures adopted for that purpose by others; and (b) to advise the Secretary of State on any matter referred to the Commission by him and to make recommendations to him on any matter which the Commission consider should be brought to his attention.
>
> 4. For the purpose of discharging their functions under subsection 3(a) above the Commission may (a) establish services for giving

advice on community relations to local autorities and other local organizations concerned therewith and for collecting information with respect to community relations; (b) provide courses of training in connection with community relations; and (c) arrange or promote the holding of conferences on matters connected with community relations."

Eighty-five voluntary community relations councils were set up. They worked fairly independently of the Commission. They could obtain some financial support from the Commission for locally based community projects, and the salaries of local community relations officers were paid by the Commission. The training section of the Commission arranged a programme for community relations officers and voluntary members of community relations councils.

In November 1968 Parliament appointed the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Race Relations and Immigration which was to review policy questions, but not individual cases, related mainly to two aspects: the operation of the 1968 Race Relations Act and the admission of emigrants from both Commonwealth and other countries. When reviewing the effects of the Act they should pay special attention to the work of the Race Relations Board and the Community Relations Commission.

The Select Committee chose as the theme of their first inquiry The Problems of Coloured School-leavers. Their report was finished in September 1969 and contained a great number of facts and analyses of the problems experienced by coloured school-leavers but also a number of proposals and recommendations. They emphasized the task of the Community Relations Commission to spread information to other community relations councils about successful projects and methods developed in a local community relations council. The Department should, according to their recommendations, work together with professional teaching associations in supporting arrangements to keep local authorities informed of experiences made by other local authorities. So the role of central agencies in this field as in others should be to form and develop the general policy and to spread information of this among local agencies.

The Select Committee published a series of reports and recommendations on several aspects of race relations such as education, employment, housing, police, immigrant relations and the control of Commonwealth immigration. In July 1975 they submitted a report, based on an inquiry, on the organization of race relations administration (Organization of Race Relations

Administration, Volumes 1-3, 1975). They made a number of recommendations such as the role of central and local government. This document served as a background material for a White Paper, presented to Parliament by the Home Secretary in September 1975 and entitled Racial Discrimination (1976). In this Paper the Government tried to evaluate the effects of the then existing legislation and made proposals to replace the Race Relations Act of 1968 with a new one.

As a background to the proposals the Secretary of State for the Home Department pointed to some facts relevant to the immigrant situation. One of them was and still is that what they call "coloured immigrants" are unevenly spread over the country. Two main centres of coloured settlement exist, namely Greater London and the West Midlands. It is evident, the Home Secretary states in the Paper, that a high proportion of them live in deprived inner city areas and that means that the housing conditions have hardly improved since 1968. Unemployment is high among all coloured groups and especially young West Indians. He goes on to describe a cycle of cumulative disadvantages where low-paid or low-status jobs of the first generation of immigrants are combined with poor housing and a depressed environment. This causes an extremely difficult situation for the second generation who will be badly equipped to deal with the difficulties. And he was aware that all these problems cannot be solved by another Race Relations Act, as so many of the current problems are caused by other factors outside the field of race relations, but he argued that racial discrimination multiplies and accentuates the disadvantages of the racial minority groups.

Research experiences, made by PEP in their study of racial disadvantage, delivered some of the basic facts for the governmental proposals. PEP published three studies: one on the racial disadvantage in employment, one on the extent of racial discrimination generally and one on racial minorities and public housing. A fourth report (Smith, 1976) contains the analysis of a national survey of the main racial minority groups, Asians and West Indians, based on the results of the other three studies. In the report the researchers stated that the situation of the minority groups might have improved to some extent since the passing of the Race Relations Act 1968. The level of discrimination has decreased, but discrimination still continues both in the fields of housing and employment. Only a small proportion of the coloured group - 10 to 15 per cent - stated that they personally had been the victims of discrimination. But both groups agreed that it still existed.

Some expressions of racial disadvantage, pointed to by PEP, are important both as a basis for the existing Race Relations Act and for the development of the policy in the field of minority education. The results were reported in 1976, but the economic situation has not improved and the unemployment figures have increased in the last few years. The following sentences summarize some of the most important findings:

- The racial minority groups constitute about two per cent of the adult population.

- 92 per cent of the minority groups have immigrated within the past twenty years.

- Most of the immigrants came to Britain to find work.

- Especially the Asians face serious problems of adaptation.

- The different minority groups had nothing in common before coming to Britain.

- There are many differences, existing within the Asian group - origin, language, religion and culture.

- The minorities are concentrated in the South East and in the West Midlands.

- In the areas where they live the minority groups are concentrated in certain local authority areas.

- The households of the minority groups are considerably larger than those of indigenous people.

- Many minority households consist of extended families, so that either different branches of the family or several generations live together.

- One half of the adult Asians speak English insufficiently or not at all.

- The level of formal education and academic qualifications is lower in the minority groups than among the majority population.

- There is a substantial number of Asian men who have qualifications for white collar jobs but very few are qualified for skilled manual jobs.

- Unemployment is higher among the minorities than among the general population.

- The housing is inferior for the minority groups.

- Language problems will not disappear quickly - many Asians who have about thirty years of their working life ahead of them speak very little English or no English at all.

- There is a danger that the disadvantage of poor English will be passed on from the parents to the children.

- Many Asians are not fully literate in their own languages.

- There are many indications in the survey that the language difficulties of West Indians are serious although they have not been fully observed.
(Op.cit. Chapter XVII, Conclusions, pp. 172-182)

10.1.1 The 1976 Race Relations Act

In November 1976 Parliament passed the current Race Relations Act. The first part of the Act defines unlawful discrimination in the following way (part 1, section 1): "A person discriminates against another in any circumstances relevant for the purposes of any provision of this Act if - (a) on racial grounds he treats that other less favourably than he treats or would treat other persons; ...".

"Racial grounds" covers a wide field as it is stated in part 1 section 3 "In this Act, unless the context otherwise requires - 'racial grounds' means any of the following grounds, namely colour, race, nationality or ethnic or national origins, ..." (Race Relations Act, 1976).

Like the act 1968 the new Race Relations act applies to different situations: employment, vocational training, justice, education and housing.

As had been shown in the national survey earlier referred to (Smith, 1976), one of the weak points in earlier legislation was that people who regarded themselves as unfairly treated had no direct access to the courts. They had to make a complaint to the Race Relations Board and the Board had to decide whether racial discrimination had taken place or not. Then the Board could try to settle the matter by reconciliation. And if this failed the Board could decide to start legal proceedings against the person or the agency in question. Individuals who thought they had been unlawfully treated could not do this. The Board had some limited possibilities of making its own investigations, but generally it could not do anything until a person made a complaint. But most people did not make any complaints. There were many reasons for this. Many people were unaware that they had been discriminated against, others did not want to complain because of all the inconveniences involved, and others again were not aware of their rights. They did not know that the Board existed and even if they did, they did not understand how it worked.

In order to avoid the drawbacks of this earlier legislation individuals became entitled under the new Act to turn to the courts themselves and start a civil action. A Commission for Racial Equality was established by the Act and this replaced both the Race Relations Board and the Community Relations Commission. The new Commission was to consist of at least eight but not more than fifteen people. They work on a full-time or part-time basis and are appointed by the Secretary of State. Their duties are described as follows:

> "(a) to work towards the elimination of discrimination
>
> (b) to promote equality of opportunity and good relations, between persons of different racial groups generally; and
>
> (c) to keep under review the working of this Act and, when they are so required by the Secretary of State or otherwise think it is necessary, draw up and submit to the Secretary of State proposals for amending it" (op.cit. part VII, section 43).

The Commission is empowered to conduct its own formal investigations in order to carry out its duties and it can appoint people to help in these investigations. It can assist any organization which is concerned with work for racial equality and finance research or educational activities in this field.

The Commission gives general information on the working of the Act. The members are informed of all complaints and get copies of all decisions from the courts. They can assist and advise people to conduct legal proceedings, which they do at their own discretion because under the provisions of the existing Act they are no longer under any duty to advise and assist.

10.2 POLICY IN EDUCATION

10.2.1 The Department of Education and Science

In the devolved British school system many arrangements in the field of immigrant education have been based on local decisions. Therefore they can vary from one local education authority to another. But it is the task of the Department of Education and Science to develop the general policy which forms the basis for all local decisions. It is interesting to try and find out what has happened there over the years. The main source of

information has been a publication by the Department (The Education of Immigrants, 1971). Some statistics on immigration have been given in Chapter 3, section 2.

No advisory materials were published in the field of immigrant education until 1965 to help teachers to cope with all the new tasks and difficulties which were unknown to them before. In the above mentioned publication it is stated that the scale of future immigration and the pattern of settlement could not be discovered until the first years of the 1960s. In the field of further education there had been many overseas students for a long period of time, which had nothing or very little to do with immigration. Traditionally many young people from the colonies or Commonwealth areas went to Britain for university studies and other kinds of higher and further education. Arrangements had been made by the different educational institutions to help students overcome difficulties, caused by their inadequate knowledge of English. But at that time (1971) concentrations were noticeable in a few schools in certain areas. Only gradually the new problems of immigrant pupils, such as culture shock, inadequate English and difficulties related to foreign traditions and habits, became apparent on a national scale.

The problems were initially solved locally by local authorities and with the help of H M inspectors, and they drew the attention of their colleagues in the Department to this new situation. The experience gained in certain areas was used by the inspectors to help others who faced the same problems. The co-operation between a group of inspectors and members of local education authorities began very informally. The first local authorities to become involved in this are still areas where the percentage of immigrant population is high - Bedford, Birmingham, Bradford, Leeds and London. One of the most important starting points was that inspectors brought to the attention of local education authorities the fact that the growing number of immigrant children in their schools would probably cause educational problems. And as this phenomenon had developed over a short period of time, many authorities had not yet understood the extent of the problems and did not have any solutions. The inspectors gave advice on educational problems both of a linguistic and a general nature, and the main points are described in the following way:

"i. assessing the individual difficulties of immigrant children;

ii. developing language teaching techniques and the use of special materials, whether in schools or language centres;

iii. identifying the special problems of particular racial and cultural groups;

iv. familiarizing teachers with the problems and developing initial and in-service training opportunities for them;

v. helping local education authorities to make the best use of the opportunity of employing teachers from overseas countries;

vi. keeping the Department as fully informed as possible of the changing situation by enquiry and by obtaining local statistics;

vii. developing good relations with immigrant parents and advising on means of informing them about the school's approaches and methods of educational opportunities in general;

viii. advising on steps necessary to reassure parents of non-immigrant children already in the schools that their education would not be impaired by the presence of immigrant children" (The Education of Immigrants, 1971, pp. 14-15).

The activities of the inspectors included discussions and advice when they visited the schools but also conferences and short courses for the teachers on the teaching of immigrant children. In 1963 the group of inspectors, who had gained experience and knowledge in this field, published a booklet, entitled English for Immigrants. The inspectors emphasized first of all the importance of language teaching to pupils whose command of English was inadequate. In the pamphlet it was further stated that the language courses should be carefully planned and make use of modern methods and media. But it also contained advice on social and educational problems existing in schools with large great numbers of immigrant pupils, advice on the teaching of English to adult immigrants and advice on the organization of reception classes for immigrant pupils.

A panel of H M inspectors was set up shortly afterwards in order to collect information on experiences in the immigrant areas, to co-ordinate this information, to organize the Department in-service training programmes in this field according to the needs they could reveal, and to advise the Department on immigrant policy problems in education.

The responsibilities of the Department are described in the following way:

"i. to help create a climate in schools in which colour and race were not divisive and which would give all immigrant children opportunities for personal development in their new environment;

ii. to ensure that building programmes and teacher quotas reflected the needs of areas with large numbers of immigrant pupils;

iii. to offer advice and practical help to teachers faced with the challenge of teaching immigrant children;

iv. to safeguard against any lowering of standards due to the presence of large numbers of non-English speaking children, which might adversely affect the progress of other children;

v. to encourage and promote relevant research" (English for Immigrants, 1963, p. 144).

The Education of Immigrants (1971) is a wide survey of policy issues and tasks of immigrant education on all levels of the education system. The following year another survey was published (The Continuing Needs of Immigrants, 1972) where a group of inspectors reported on a limited survey during the school year 1969/70. It was aimed at investigating how immigrant pupils were progressing in secondary education and what schools did to meet their needs. In their conclusions the inspectors say that the efforts the schools have made to help pupils from overseas to acquire a working knowledge of English and a familiarity with the English way of life have been largely effective but that they have paid too little attention to the needs of these pupils when they are called upon to participate in normal classroom work.

"Much more can be achieved if the school - and in the first place the English department - works out a linguistic policy for all who are handicapped in coping with the language problems of secondary education and with the language specific to each subject" (op.cit. p.27).

The difficulties encountered by young immigrant school-leavers when looking for employment were recognized even at that early stage and the inspectors point to two problems in this connection; one is that young immigrants often have to accept jobs which are not commensurate with their abilities and aspirations. The other is that they receive too little help from their schools.

The surveys just mentioned remain two principal sources for official policies in immigrant education. But of course the policy has developed over the years and appeared in different forms in co-operation with many different national agencies. The purpose of the policy at the national level has been and still is to offer advice and give practical help to schools and teachers without questioning the right of local authorities to make their own decisions.

One aspect of education of immigrant children, which has caused much discussion and discord, is the dispersal of pupils on which advice was given in a Department Circular 7/65 on the Education of Immigrants in June 1965. This Circular was meant for local education authorities and aimed at solving some problems in schools where a large number of immigrant children were admitted. One of the reasons why this Circular was published was what happened in Southall in 1963. White parents claimed that there were too many Indian children in some primary schools and that this implied that education of their own children was affected in a negative way. The Minister of Education, Sir Edward Boyle, refused to accept that immigrant children should be educated separately or that children in these schools should be transferred to other schools. But it was agreed that in the future a limit of about 30 per cent of immigrants should be maintained.

Circular 7/65 contained much advisory material on the medical and social needs of immigrant children. Early and special attention should be paid to their language education. The indigenous children should be taught about Commonwealth countries as a background to the understanding of their immigrant school mates. It was confirmed that the Department was prepared to increase the number of teachers in schools with substantial numbers of immigrant children. Welfare assistants should also be employed in such schools. Further education should be offered to help immigrant adults to improve their knowledge of the English language. Employers were invited to co-operate and the Youth Service was urged to involve young immigrants in youth club activities. Local education authorities should increase the number of conferences, course and research projects on immigrant education.

But the part of the Circular which received the most attention was entitled Spreading the Children. There it was suggested that no school should have more than about one-third of immigrant pupils. It was argued there that if the proportion exceeded one-third either in a class or in a school, serious difficulties might arise. The catchment areas of a district should as far as possible be arranged to avoid excessive concentrations of immigrant children. If this should not be possible, because a school serves an area where there are many immigrants, efforts should be made to disperse the immigrant children to a greater number of schools and arrangements should be made by the local education authorities for their transportation.

The reactions of local education authorities to these suggestions have varied. Many authorities never adopted the policy of dispersing their immigrant

children or have only accepted marginal dispersal such as the adjustment of catchment areas. Some of the criticism of dispersal has been that the advantage of being admitted to a school where more attention can be paid to the needs of immigrant pupils is outweighted by the disadvantage of long journeys and difficulties for the parents to have close contacts with the school. A further point of criticism has been that there were no suggestions that indigenous pupils should be moved.

The most important instrument of curriculum development at central level has been the Schools Council for the Curriculum and Examinations, which has already been mentioned in connection with the British education system (p. 74). Help to teachers of immigrant children was urgently needed both in order to make them understand the difficulties of immigrant children and to produce educational materials to overcome them. As a result of an investigation and a report by June Derrick the Council approved a proposal by the Institute of Education of the University of Leeds for a three-year development project, later called Scope. The project had two aims: one was to prepare teaching materials to be used in the classroom, the other to provide in-service training to explain the purpose of the new materials to teachers. Many teachers and inspectors were involved in the trial stages. The Department had two representatives on the Consultative Committee organized to help the project team. Later on other similar projects have been initiated both by the Council and other agencies. But the early projects have been regarded as important prototypes of others, for what they did to increase basic knowledge of the problems involved in the teaching of English to immigrant children and to develop methods to construct materials for this instruction.

It has been recognized by the Department that in schools with many immigrants classes should be small. Therefore local education authorities can apply to the Department for increases in their teacher quota on the basis of this.

10.2.2 Teacher Training

It was a fairly long time before colleges and schools of education paid attention to the educational needs of immigrant children and to the trainees' needs to be prepared to teach in a multicultural society. In 1961 the Prime Minister appointed a committee to examine higher education and Lord Robbins became Chairman. In his report (Higher Education, 1963) he declared that one of the aims of higher education should be to transmit the common culture and common standards of citizenship. He paid attention to the indigenous culture,

but failed to realize at that early stage that this culture should be related to a multi-cultural society.

During the second half of the 1960s the role of teacher training in the education of immigrant children was emphasized. A seminar at Edge Hill College in January 1967 was organized by the National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants. The Department and H M inspectors took part together with college lecturers, teachers and administrators. A statement was issued after the seminar, where the following three assertions about initial teacher training could be found:

> "i. No teacher training institution can now contract out from this problem (the multi-cultural society and the education of immigrant children) and retain an easy conscience. Its students may well take up their posts in Birmingham or London.
>
> ii. All students should be given the opportunity to study this problem during their training.
>
> iii. Some students should be encouraged through concentrated study and practice perhaps by means of optional courses to develop an advanced degree of relevant knowledge and skills."

This statement, quoted in the publication The Education of Immigrants (p. 72) earlier mentioned on page 103, could still be regarded as valid to express the views of the Department and Inspectorate in the field of immigrant education within teacher training. But the execution of policy in academic matters is not decided upon by the Department but by the University Institutes and Schools of Education themselves.

In 1971 another committee, appointed by the Secretary of State for Education and Science in 1970 and led by lord James, had finished its work (Teacher Education and Training, 1972). Things had changed and this committee expressed the view that all students should be made aware that Britain is a multi-cultural society and that this should leaven all through their teaching in the future.

It is likely, however, that by this time most colleges and schools of education had only started to work along these lines. This was found in the answers to a questionnaire sent out to colleges in the autumn term of 1968 in order to make it possible for a committee to analyse how much race relations had influenced the syllabuses of colleges of education. Millins was Chairman of this Committee. The analysis showed that most colleges had

started work in this field in 1966 and 1967 and that a "significant" number of them paid attention to the problems of immigrants. It was impossible to draw any definite conclusions about the extent to which their efforts had been successful. The report was published by the Community Relations Commission and was entitled Education for a Multi-Cultural Society Syllabuses (1970). Two kinds of courses had started in this field: one about the education of children from immigrant communities and the other with courses for all students who would be teaching in a multi-cultural society. There were indications that the colleges had been fairly successful in arranging courses of the first category, but also that progress was slow in the second.

Two teacher organizations, the National Union of Teachers and the National Association of School Masters, informed the Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration in 1973 that they were less optimistic now than they had been in the late 1960s. At that time it was believed that if the linguistic and cultural difficulties of immigrant children were treated properly at school this would solve most racial problems (Vol 3, pp. 749, 755 of Education, 1973).

The National Association for Multi-racial Education also stated that most teachers who worked in multi-racial schools had had no preparation for this at college, either because they had been trained before Britain became multi-racial or because their colleges did not give them any training in this field although society had changed (ibid, Vol 2, p. 293). Some student unions also showed concern about the matter.

In order to solve some of the problems a working party was set up jointly by the Community Relations Commission and the Association of Teachers in Colleges and Departments of Education. They published the first edition of their report, entitled Teacher Education for a Multi-Cultural Society in June 1974. The second edition of the report was published in November 1978 by the Commission for Racial Equality.

The terms of reference, given to the working party, were as follows (op.cit. p. 4):

> "1. To consider the ways in which the training of teachers can better equip them to teach in an ethnically and culturally diverse society, and how future patterns of training, pre-service and in-service can better recognize this need.

2. In particular, in the context of the projected re-organization of higher education, to examine the opportunity to introduce new specialist courses and the ways in which other courses can give more attention to the multi-cultural character of our society.

3. To present a report to the Community Relations Commission and the Association of Teachers in Colleges and Departments of Education's Executive, setting out the Working Party's findings and its suggestions as to how these can most effectively be implemented, in order that such report and suggestions can be considered by the Departments and Colleges of Education (op.cit. p. 4).

In their introduction the working party describes how they have used some terms. They use "black" and "brown" to describe the main mirority groups and by multi-racial they mean the composition of the population. The term multi-cultural is used to describe the variety of historical background, linguistic patterns, religious beliefs and cultural and family traditions. These terms have been used in the same way in most other policy materials and reports.

The starting point of the analysis is that students, who are trained to become teachers, will be teaching fewer and fewer immigrants in the narrow meaning of the word, i.e. individuals who were born in other countries. Instead they will teach, as is stated in the report, young black and brown British people who were born in the country and who want the same educational and occupational opportunities as their classmates. This is a very important and challenging task for the teachers, because if the pupils do not get these chances, they will suffer as individuals but society will also suffer from the results of their disillusion, according to the working party.

The report suggests action on three levels: informational, technical and affective. The first level would include studies of the social and cultural background of minority groups, prejudice and discrimination and factors affecting policy change. The second, the technical level would cover how to teach English as a second language and how to improve the curriculum. The affective level is difficult to pin down, as it should include the students' attitudes to other cultures and other ethnic groups, their understanding of the situation of minority group children and their feelings about the future of Britain as a "multi-racial" (i.e. multi-ethnic) society.

One of the most important fields for a re-examination of the work in teacher training in which all students can take part is curriculum development in subjects like history, literature and religious studies, according to the

working party. The aim of this development work should be to consider attitudes and assumptions in the subject matter they teach. This is important because teachers should be aware of the problem that very ethnocentric and biased views may be transmitted both by the way the contents are chosen and presented. Again, the curriculum should offer excellent possibilities to introduce other cultures and increase understanding for all human groups.

The working party states that for a long time the vast majority of teachers will not have received any initial teacher training for teaching in multi-racial areas. They recommend the teacher training institutions to use their academic freedom to develop a wide variety of courses. The short report is concluded by a series of thirteen recommendations. Some of them run as follows:

> "1. Institutions concerned with teacher training should help to promote in all students an awareness that they live and will teach in a multi-cultural society. This preparation should be diffused throughout a student's education.
>
> ...
>
> 5. Colleges and university institutions and departments should use their expertise and resources to provide a variety of in-service courses in community and cultural studies, some of which will lead to advanced qualifications. These institutions should co-operate with Local Education Authorities and teachers to help develop relevant school-based training.
>
> ...
>
> 12. National institutions, such as Schools Council, BBC and the Open University, should continue to develop resource materials in these fields" (op.cit. pp. 46-47).

10.2.3 Local Education Authorities

The policy of the local education authorities has developed over the years from the modest start, which was dealt with in the first section of this chapter. And the evolution started in areas where the schools received many immigrant children. Gradually teacher training institutions became aware of the role they had to play in making the students understand and accept that in the future they would teach in a multi-racial and multi-cultural society.

Initially most local education authorities concentrated their efforts on arrangements to receive immigrant children and allocate them to the different schools. The aim was to get as much information as possible, before

a child started school. The procedures included interviews with the parents and the child, medical examination and sometimes assessment of the standard of English acquired by the immigrant child.

Some authorities developed "reception centres" for newly arrived immigrant children. They remained there for two to six weeks while they were documented, medically examined and assessed. But they were also given simple lessons in oral English, instruction in hygiene and road safety and a very simple introduction to British ways of life. In the centre the immigrant children could meet adult immigrants on the staff and their difficulties could be solved in their own languages.

The teaching arrangements varied at first within the different authority areas. Some authorities placed all immigrant pupils in classes which were appropriate to their age. In other areas immigrants were placed in normal classes, if they were of primary school age, and special provision was only made for secondary-age children. But fairly soon most teachers and local authorities realized that some planned extra help was necessary for immigrant children of all ages. The problem was also solved in different ways: some authorities allocated resources for welfare assistants or other forms of ancillary help to all schools with large numbers of immigrant children. But others provided extra help for immigrant children in withdrawal groups. Different teachers could take these groups. In some schools the withdrawal group might be taken by the class teacher. In other schools the groups were taken by a specially appointed teacher, often with training in teaching English as a second language. There are also in some areas peripathetic teachers, who specialize in this kind of teaching.

The time devoted to withdrawal groups can vary considerably. In some areas the groups are only occasional, in others they meet for a regular period per week and sometimes as often as every day.

In schools or areas with a great number of immigrant pupils many local authorities established special classes, either set up for non-English speaking immigrants within one school or for pupils from three or four schools. These classes have fewer pupils than ordinary classes, below twenty, and the teacher should, if possible, have been trained in teaching English as a second language. Initially the pupils might join the rest of the school only for assembly and meals, but gradually they join their normal classes for more and more subjects. Some advantages are obvious in a system

of this kind: the gradual entry into the life and work of a normal class. But there are also difficult problems: close co-operation is necessary between the special class teacher and the normal class teacher and it is not easy to decide when a child is ready to be fully integrated into a normal class.

Some authorities decided to establish a language centre, either in a school or in its own building, where immigrant children could be admitted from several schools. In these language centres the pupils are given concentrated courses in English as a second language. There are, however, no statistics available to show the frequencies of different arrangements for immigrant education.

The most controversial form of instruction has been when immigrant children have been considered as pupils in need of remedial help. Gradually it became obvious that a service developed to help English pupils who are backward in the basic subjects was not relevant to the needs of immigrants. Methods of teaching should be different, and if both groups are in one remedial class neither of them may get the help they need.

In the survey already mentioned (The Education of Immigrants, 1971), the Department pointed to three solutions for immigrant problems. These were based on the information collected from local authorities, already experienced in this field and should be relevant irrespective of organizational framework, chosen by authorities:

> "1. Additional support for the schools:
> a. additional teaching and ancillary staff
> b. special equipment
> c. additional accomodation;
>
> 2. Increased effectiveness of the teaching staff through knowledge of methods of teaching English as a second language, of the social and cultural background of newcomers, and of the use of materials suitable to this teaching situation;
>
> 3. The development of a good climate for learning through liaison between school and home, the encouragement of the parents to take an interest in English methods of education and to learn the language themselves, and close co-operation between those branches of the local authority's service (e.g. health and welfare as well as education) which are likely to influence the child's performance" (op.cit. p. 39).

10.2.4 Organizations outside the Education System

In Britain there has always existed a long tradition of voluntary organizations in many fields, and education is one of them. It would be impossible to enumerate them and/or to describe how they work. But they are active in all kinds of education and on all stages, like the provision of play-groups for small children, the running of youth clubs and holiday projects for school-children, different activities to integrate immigrant families into the local community. Voluntary teaching of English to immigrants has been provided by many organizations. Some of them work on a local basis but many operate on a national scale. Among them are different teacher organizations and Christian associations. In many cases the local education authorities are responsible for measures of co-ordination between the different organizations. Statistics on the work of these voluntary organizations are unfortunately lacking.

Chapter 11 Current Language Policy in Education

11.1 EDUCATION IN SCHOOLS - A POLICY DOCUMENT

As mentioned before in this study language policy in education in Britain is ultimately a responsibility of local education authorities. Documents which are produced at the national level are advisory or consultative but not prescriptive. In July 1977 the Secretary of State for Education and Science and the Secretary of State for Wales presented to Parliament a Green Paper which contained recommendations for the compulsory school (Education in Schools, 1978). The two Secretaries of State pointed to the role of the document in their foreword:

> "The proposals may be built upon, altered in the course of discussion, or superseded by developments that will emerge. There can never be final answers nor an end to debate. But there are times for self-examination followed by the setting down of new objectives and new ways of reaching those objectives. We believe we have now reached such a time and this Green Paper is a response to it" (op.cit. p. 1).

The paper was submitted in a situation where education had been strongly criticized in the newspapers and elsewhere. Standards were said to have declined and schools to be paying too little attention to the basic skills of reading, writing and arithmetic. It is emphasized in the document that Britain is a multi-racial and multi-cultural country and that the curriculum of the schools should reflect the different needs in this new society. It is recognized that extra help has been given to pupils with another mother tongue than English. But very little is said about the specific needs of ethnic minority children. Less than one out of almost fifty pages is devoted to this subject. The main purpose of that short section of the paper is to show that knowledge about the educational results of ethnic minority children, their special needs and the role of education in a multi-racial society is inadequate. Very little is said about the importance of good knowledge of English for the minority children, but nothing at all is said about the role of the mother tongue for their development.

The Commission for Racial Equality was established by the Race Relations Act 1976, with a special duty to review the working of the Act (previous chapter). This commission should be an important policy forming body. In a memorandum (Comments on Education in Schools: A Consultative Document, 1978) the commission emphasized the importance of multi-ethnic education, underlining three broad views on this subject, which have all been touched on in the Green Paper:

1) Schools should enable all children to compete on equal terms for jobs, careers and further and higher education
2) Minority children need a base for developing their relationship to both the majority and the minority cultures;
3) Schools should educate all pupils for life in a multi-racial society.

The Commission elaborated these three issues in detail and stated that schools were not always successful in enabling minority children to compete on equal terms with majority children. More information was necessary before responsible authorities knew the degree of success and failure and could develop programmes to improve the situation.

The Commission described the problem of cultural identity as complex and stated that educational practice had implicitly accepted the complete assimilation of minority children into the majority culture. The other extreme is to reinforce or maintain minority cultures among the minority pupils. The Commission doubted that the objective of schools should be formulated in either of these extreme forms:

> "The first ignores legitimate desires and pressures to maintain at least some aspects of minority cultures, the second ignores pressures that many ethnic minority people, particularly young people, may feel to adopt some aspects of the majority culture as their own" (op.cit. p. 2).

Schools have an important role to play to educate all pupils for a multi-ethnic society. The Commission stated that it would not be possible to achieve good race relations if majority people do not accept and understand the rights and aspirations of the ethnic minorities. The ideal situation would be "full equality of opportunity, coupled with cultural diversity" (p. 2).

11.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

The Commission made several recommendations to authorities and teachers in the field of multi-ethnic education. One of them is about language problems. It refers to difficulties in learning English as a second language. The mother-tongue of the minority children is not mentioned in the Green Paper or in the memorandum by the Commission. About the teaching of English they say in their memorandum:

> "The approaches adopted by LEAs to the teaching of English as second language vary considerably, though the problem receives universal attention. Teachers generally may not, however, be sufficiently skilled in diagnosing language difficulties or giving the special help needed to develop fluency and understanding" (op.cit. p. 3, paragraph 12).

Therefore they recommended a special study to be made which should have a double purpose: to investigate the development of literacy and communication skills among minority pupils who have another mother tongue than English and to investigate what kind of support the teachers need. The Commission attached importance to the teaching materials used in language education. Primary schools are recommended to examine their materials very carefully in order to assure that the materials reflect the cultural background of the children and also their current situation in Britain. In many literacy materials there are pictures of and texts about middle class white children and their environment in suburbs with one-family houses and gardens. The living conditions and the sets of values they represent are not familiar to the immigrants, nor even to large groups of majority children either. The Commission acknowledged the work of the Schools Council on materials for language education.

The Commission emphasized that measures should be taken by local education authorities and schools to make the education system fulfil its role in a multi-ethnic society.

> "The decentralised nature of the management of education means that progress cannot be centrally directed. There is, nevertheless, a clear role for central government in the development of national policy and in the provision or promotion of improved training and sources of professional research, advice and guidance. Education authorities too have a clear role in identifying and providing for the needs of the communities they serve, advising and guiding their schools in meeting the needs. Individual schools, heads and teachers inevitably have the most immediate responsibilities, and the communities themselves have theirs. The response of this complex partnerships will inevitably take time to evolve, but we believe that the need for greater clarity of purpose is now pressing. The first step is for central government itself to propose the policy and the way forward" (op.cit. p. 7).

11.3 SUPPLEMENTARY MOTHER-TONGUE TEACHING

Most teachers of minority children have been and still are only preoccupied with the teaching of English in the linguistic field. But for many of the minority groups there is a network of provisions for teaching the children their first language. Minorities like the Italians, the Spaniards and the Portuguese organize their "supplementary schooling" or "community mother-tongue provision" - many different terms are used - from their embassies. Other groups like the Indians and the Chinese offer locally based provision for their members, often without any co-ordination between different arrangements. This language education varies in forms, contents and standards.

In some cases teaching of the mother-tongue has been organized in local schools, usually because a staff member from a minority group has taken a personal initiative to teach the mother-tongue, either in the lunch hour or after school has finished. But there are great deficiencies of information on this language teaching. It is not possible to get reliable information from central statistical sources about the size of the different linguistic minorities and how many school children there are among them. There is very little knowledge of the number of supplementary community schools and the proportion of children who attend them.

According to Verity Saifullah Khan in her article "The Mother-Tongue of Linguistic Minorities in Multicultural England" (Khan, 1980) many teachers do not know the first language of their pupils. And they do not know how many of their pupils attend another school to get language education. Khan states in her article that the number of mother-tongue supplementary schools increased rapidly in the early 1970s. She expresses the view that by the time the issue of mother-tongue teaching had emerged in other European countries and provision for the teaching of mother-tongues was organized, this problem was not generally discussed in Britain. She takes an example form the Bullock report (A Language for Life, 1975) where two paragraphs in the conclusions and recommendations (265 and 266) are about bilingualism. As can be noticed the Commission supported bilingualism in general terms, but they did not specify what they meant by bilingualism or how it could be achieved:

> "265. Every school with pupils whose original language is not English should adopt a positive attitude to their bilingualism and, whenever possible, help maintain and deepen their knowledge of their mother tongue.

266. There should be further research into the teaching of their own language to children of immigrant communities and into the various aspects of bilingualism in schools.

Among the few educationalists and others working in this field who were in favour of bilingual education around the middle of the 1970s there were different opinions. Most of them thought that minority children should be able to take their mother-tongues in optional classes up to the "O-level" of the secondary school. Others again meant that the mother-tongue should be used as a medium of instruction in specific subjects, especially in classes for teenagers who have just arrived in Britain or in language centres. The latter view is more in accordance with the way the concept bilingual education is usually defined. The languages should be used as media of instruction in different subjects and not only as subjects per se. But these plans were on the whole not put into practice.

11.4 THE EEC DIRECTIVE

In February 1976 an action programme for education of migrant workers' children was adopted by the ministers of education within the European Economic Community (Official Journal of the European Communities 19.2.76 No C 38/1). In the language education of migrant workers' children the programme stated the following needs:

> "- organizing and developing a reception system which would include intensive study of the language or languages of the host country;
>
> - providing more opportunities as appropriate for teaching these children their mother tongue and culture if possible in school and in collaboration with the country of origin" (op.cit. p. 2, IV).

As there had been almost no public debate on the role of the mother-tongue in Britain, and the economic situation was difficult, the reaction to these statements was on the whole negative among responsible authorities and organizations. The problems involved seemed to be too great to master. The final EEC Directive was passed in 1977 (Official Journal of the European Communities 6.8.77, No L 199/32) and it was in a revised version. It does not make provision of mother tongue teaching compulsory for the member states and the clause which gave minority people the right to mother tongue teaching has been removed. In article 1 children of migrant workers are defined as children who are citizens in another member state. Article 2 emphasized the

importance of teaching the language of the host country. The wording in article 3 is more circumspect:

> "Member States shall in accordance with their national circumstances and legal systems, and in co-operation with States of origin, take appropriate measures to promote, in co-ordination with normal education, teaching of the mother-tongue and culture of the country of origin for the children referred to in Article 1."

Over the last few years the debate on mother tongue teaching has increased and involved many organizations of both majority and minority groups. Some Local Education Authorities and Community Relations Councils have made different arrangements to improve immigrant education. A Co-ordinating Committee for Mother-tongue Teaching was founded in 1976 by different minorities. Now this has expanded to involve teachers, academic specialists and community workers. The Department of Education and Science has started two projects in the last two years, which are funded by the Department. One is at the University of Bradford: The Mother Tongue and English Teaching Project (MOTET) and the other at the University of London Institute of Education: The Linguistic Minorities Project. Khan also mentions (Khan, 1980, p. 86). Other activities in this field: the Local Education Authorities in Manchester and Coventry have organized the teaching of South Asian languages in several schools in their areas. And the Inner London Education Authority gives support to ten mother tongue programmes in eight different languages.

A book has just been published in connection with a series of in-service training films for teachers (Twitches and Demuth, 1981). It emphasizes the importance of the mother tongue for the minorities:

> "Much has already been said about the lines that multi-cultural education is to do with treating others' cultural values with the respect that we would normally expect to be shown towards our own. But so far we have not properly confronted the fact that it is not possible to respect the culture of any community without recognising the significance of that community's own language or, indeed, the characteristic ways in which people in that community speak English. More even than religious traditions, or social or domestic customs, it is language - the way people communicate and share their thoughts - which symbolises and embodies a culture and its values" (op.cit. pp. 131-132).

The view-point of minority communities is expressed:

> "First, to teach a child his mother tongue is to open to him a door to culture. A language is not just a vocabulary and a body of grammatical rules but a vehicle of culture, and embodies a particular way of looking at the world, understanding human existence and conceiving interpersonal relationships. Second, mother tongue is the necessary basis of the child's self-esteem and self respect" (op.cit. p. 133).

Reasons are given for integrating the teaching of mother tongues into education:

> "It implies a recognition by the school that a child's mother tongue is an integral and essential part of his or her education and therefore the responsibility of the school. ... Its inclusion assures the child that the school respects his or her language and culture" (op.cit. pp. 133-134).

Different views are expressed in another recent publication (Education for a Multi-Cultural Society, 1981). Different aspects of education are treated such as curriculum, examinations and teacher education. There is a summary of 32 recommendations but none of them refer to mother tongue teaching. This is presumably regarded as a dilemma.

> "Some have suggested that mother-tongue teaching has a major role to play in the education of children from ethnic minority groups whose first language is not English, arguing that a child may learn perfectly well through the medium of his native language and that the likelihood of his doing so is, in any event, immeasurably enhanced. We can certainly see mother tongue tuition as a valuable short-term strategy to provide cushioning against the shock of immediate and total exposure outside the home to a strange, complex and incomprehensible language. ... We cannot, however, support the concept of total exclusive mother-tongue teaching for a child throughout the whole of his school-life. If schools do not prepare pupils for adult life and work in a Society in which the lingua franca is English and likely to remain so, then they fail. Mother tongue teaching as a long term strategy encourages linguistic escapism from our Society's real needs and demands" (op. cit. p. 12).

The implementation of a system for mother tongue teaching will imply measures on all levels: individuals, schools, local education authorities and central authorities.

No political decisions for the future have yet been taken in the organization of language teaching to immigrants. It is obvious that economic factors are crucial. There are costs involved at all levels of education. The resources for education have been decreasing in recent years. There is,

however, political pressure caused by EEC membership and the existing Directive, and there is also pressure from the minorities in Britain. The linguists do not agree on the problem either. According to Khan there are mainly two views: one is that good knowledge of the first language is a necessary prerequisite of the acquisition of a second language and another that early bilingualism impedes the understanding of basic concepts.

11.5 WELSH IN EDUCATION IN WALES

The only policy document, where bilingual education is clearly advocated is not about immigrants but about the Welsh. This document, earlier mentioned (p. 115) is Education in Schools (1978) and its part about Welsh in the curriculum of the schools of Wales (op.cit. pp. 13-15). The situation in Wales has already been dealt with in Chapter 8. Welsh as a mother tongue is handled by the authorities both centrally and locally in a way which is completely different from the way other minority languages are treated. In regard to Welsh it cannot be questioned what the aims should be according to the official policy. Nor can the authorities' great concern for this language training be questioned. In paragraph 2.26 it is stated:

> "...Welsh tends to be taught in isolation from other learning experiences. And there are widespread weaknesses in teaching techniques. The schools which stand out as successful in the teaching of Welsh as a second language are the designated bilingual schools and those other schools which concentrate on promoting communication skills in the second language" (op.cit. p. 14).

In the following paragraph of the same document (2.27) Welsh is referred to as a medium of instruction:

> "Both formal research and more general observation support the view that children learn a second language more effectively to the extent that native language learning conditions are simulated which allow the learner to use the language he is learning."

The need for initial and in-service training for teachers to teach Welsh or teach through the medium of Welsh should be based on a developed policy (op. cit. paragraph 2.28):

> "... Clear language policies formulated by authorities in consultation with parents and teachers so as to reflect in a purposeful way the linguistic character of their areas would provide an element of motivation and would enable individual schools

in turn to formulate positive policies within the framework provided. Authorities in Wales are therefore invited to include such policies in the reports on curricular plans for their areas which have been called for in this paper."

Part III A Comparative Analysis

Chapter 12 Conditions for Comparison of Policies

12.1 MULTI-CULTURAL SOCIETIES

As a basis for comparing certain features or problems in education in different countries, such as in this case the education of minorities in Sweden and Britain, it is necessary to know basic facts about the education systems, both for the majority population and for the ethnic minorities, and about general immigrant policies. Without such knowledge it would be difficult to understand the environment in which policy decisions are made, the policy decisions themselves and their interpretations and implementation. Immigrant policies in education cannot be isolated from immigrant policies in society as a whole.

The language problem is one of the most important policy issues. This is, however, closely linked to language policies in society as a whole. In countries with more than one language, language policy problems are especially urgent. The ways in which problems of majority and minority languages in education have been approached in different periods of time and in different countries have been hinted at in the first chapter of this study.

The case-studies in parts 1 and 2 of the study form the basis of the comparative analysis in this part. When dealing with Sweden and Britain it is necessary to bear in mind both similarities and differences. There is a risk of biassed conclusions if we generalize about British phenomena from a knowledge of Swedish ones or vice versa as has earlier been discussed in Chapter 1.

Some basic similarities between the two countries are readily apparent: comparable or related cultural and educational traditions, similarly expressed intentions and value-systems in education. But some differences are equally obvious: the role of the central government in education has always been weaker in Britain than in Sweden, regionalism has always been a strong force in Britain and local autonomy in administration of the education system has been emphasized. The Swedish education system is more homogeneous

than the British system. There are very few private schools in Sweden, whereas Britain has a fairly widespread system of independent and private schools. Under such circumstances it has always been difficult to enforce a national policy in Britain where most educational change has been achieved rather slowly, step by step, by means of discussions and local decisions instead of the deep-going educational reforms which have been typical of Swedish efforts in the educational field over the last three decades. The reforms in Sweden have been based on parliamentary decisions and implemented along the same lines at the same time all over the country.

Referring to what I stated in Chapter 1 Section 5 I want to analyse both similarities and differences in the policies of the two countries. The analysis does not contain any controlled experiments but comparisons of the kind known as controlled investigations (Noah-Eckstein, 1969). I have tried to make what the two researchers call "careful choice of comparable situations" (p. 204) by using statistics, parallell political decisions, policy documents and implementation and enforcement of policy issues in the two countries.

We must bear in mind the necessary limitations of a study of this kind. Education is basically a process involving the experiences and interactions of people working within it. It is not a steady phenomenon or just a kind of institutional framework which we can freeze in order to describe and analyse it. It is a living process where aspirations, attitudes, values, methods and personalities play important roles. Educational policy is not just words in parliamentary debates, in educational documents of different kinds and in state and local budgets. It is also actions and measures taken by authorities, administrators and teachers on different levels in order to reach the aims. In the 1970s we have seen a growing interest among researchers in studies of internal aspects of education. Participatory studies have been undertaken in order to give inside views of the classroom - views of the curriculum based on what teachers and pupils really have experienced. Researchers have also studied the interactions of people in the process of education and the interaction of the educational process itself and the life and work of society around it. This study is of a different kind. It concentrates on policy making and methods of policy enforcement as foundations for the living processes in school.

12.2 THE IMMIGRATION PERIOD

It seems evident that - to some degree - Britain and Sweden have had different kinds of immigration and different conditions for the creation of an educational policy of immigrants. The concepts of "immigrant" differ in some respects. In Britain the interest has been concentrated on black and brown immigrants, i.e. West Indians and Indians, although the number of other immigrants is about half of the total figure. The focal point in British immigration policy has been race. In Sweden on the other hand the focal point has been language. Yet there are resemblances, or what - referring to Noah and Eckstein - I have called "comparable situations".

Immigration started in both countries on a large scale around the middle of the 1950s, increased considerably in the 1960s and has decreased gradually in the 1970s. The same general characteristics can be observed in both countries. In the early years of immigration people were allowed to come to work and find better future possibilities for decent lives than they could find in their own countries. But gradually this has changed. Restrictions on immigration have gradually been introduced in both countries, earlier in Britain than in Sweden. Yet family members of immigrants have been allowed to come to live in the countries. In addition to this a number of political refugees are allowed to come in now as well as before.

There are certain characteristics of immigration during this period, which are common to the two countries and indeed to most Western developed nations. These characteristics are related to the role that education has been expected to play in the evolution of the countries. In the 1950s optimism prevailed and both politicians and professionals were of the opinion that investments in formal education would both develop countries materially, ensure equality of educational opportunity and improve the quality of life generally for most people.

When we look back today, it is tempting to think that all this optimism was naïve. Educational experts thought they could predict not only the immediate development of the education system but also its long-time trends and requirements. Politicians tried to build up education systems to meet both public and personal needs, which in the light of later experiences hardly seems possible. The criticism started often by people outside the school system itself. This is true of both countries. As formal education employs many people and uses much money it is not surprising that tax-payers and

employers began to question its efficiency, costs increasing year by year. Such criticism has also been expressed by parents and students since the end of the 1960s. These phenomena of discontent have been obvious in both countries as in many other Western democracies. And in extreme cases demands were heard for "deschooling of society". But these reactions alone could not have led to demands for more adequate curricula, for better links between school and working life, for a shift of the emphasis from the schooling of children to the schooling of adults in a perspective of lifelong education. All this could only mean that the basic assumptions concerning the relationship of school education and the development of society had been questioned.

All this means that factors influencing educational policy have changed considerably over a short period of time. Economic crises, energy problems and anxieties about shrinking natural resources, pollution and the rapid growth of the population of the world - these are some examples of current factors, which disturb inherited patterns in educational planning not only on the national level but also in local authorities and in individual schools.

Most trends in education during the last twenty-five years are common to both countries, as has just been pointed out. Both countries have prolonged their compulsory education, expenditure on education has grown faster than in many other fields and great efforts have been made in order to increase equality of access to education. Both countries have also developed as welfare states and can now offer compensatory education for adults, who have had bad educational opportunities earlier in their lives. But both countries have over the last few years also experienced an economic recession and growing worries about the future. And the education systems of both countries are now confronted with difficulties as they have to bargain for shrinking resources. That seems to be all the more difficult as young school-leavers have great difficulties in finding jobs. And the groups of young people in both countries who meet the greatest difficulties are the minorities, predominantly the immigrants.

It is worth pointing to some special facts about Britain. After the Second World War the country lost much of its dominating position both economically and politically. Gradually it has become one of the poorer countries of Europe. The adjustment to this situation has been and still is a difficult process in many fields. Traditionally, for instance, the recruitment of people for important positions in society has been related more to the right

kind of schools and connections and less to the content of education. So it has been and it still is difficult to adjust the education system in Britain to working life. In the 1960s there was a strong development towards technical education, but students have not been very interested in applying for such studies and there are plenty of vacancies. In many circles of society the emphasis is still on passing examinations and on having the right subjects to get into a university. So even today a high percentage of school-leavers have not had any studies or training for technical or vocational qualifications. In this way even the bright students do not get a real understanding of the modern working world and the less academic pupils are bound to think, more in Britain than in Sweden, that vocational training is inferior to academic learning. And this situation again is worse for the immigrant youngsters than for others. Their chances of making an academic career are small. Academic traditions are often lacking in their families, their economic situation is usually not good enough, and sometimes language difficulties prevent them from making full use of their potential.

The situation has by and large been similar in Sweden but considerable changes of this pattern can be noticed in the 1960s and 1970s. The integration of vocational study lines into the total system of upper secondary education which took place when the new school structure and new curriculum were introduced in 1970, has contributed a great deal to this. It has enhanced the status of vocational training and as some "academic" subjects were also introduced on these study lines, it is possible to get into a university after schooling has been completed. It is also obvious to young people that it is easier to find a job if they have had vocational training at school. Some of the vocational study lines like nursing, electronics and farming now have the highest entrance points of all study lines. Some of them even have three or four times as many applicants as can be accepted. The entrance points of traditional pre-university study lines are now lower.

The period of immigration, whose main characteristics have been pointed to in this section, is the same in both countries - from the middle of the 1950s and onwards. The starting point has been similar, as both countries had had no specific experiences of large scale immigration before. This means that the problems of immigration are new and have been fairly unknown to politicians and administrators in both countries. There has been no previous experience on which to build a language policy in education. Until recently all experience has been concentrated on the first generation of immigrants.

Only for a few years has it been possible to consider the effects of immigrant education on the second generation of immigrants born in Britain or Sweden.

12.3 NATIONAL MINORITIES IN THE TWO COUNTRIES

When immigration started both Sweden and Britain were comparatively homogeneous countries. They had both strong majority populations, who used the same language and who on the whole had the same cultural traditions and shared the same set of values. To be sure Britain had for centuries been frequently communicating with foreign countries, foreign races and languages more than Sweden, but this had not to any substantial degree influenced the immigration policy and even less the policy for immigrant education. Such a policy is a late issue.

Two distinct national linguistic and ethnic minorities have existed in the two countries - the Welsh in Britain and the Lapps in Sweden. These minorities make up what Noah and Eckstein call comparable components. Both their original languages are entirely different from the majority languages and both languages are running the risk of vanishing, as the influences from the majority languages became too strong. By 1970 about 25 per cent of the population of about two and a half million in Wales could speak Welsh. More details on this have been given in the British case-study (Chapter 8). Investigations of the Lappish population which has been estimated at 15 000 in Sweden, and their knowledge of the Lappish language have shown similar disappointing results. More details have been given in the Swedish case-study (Chapter 3). But now it is true of both minorities that their interest in their original languages and cultures has increased. The role of the mother-tongue in the education of these minority children has been reinforced and educational development work has started in both countries in order to produce learning and teaching materials both in the original languages and for the learning of the mother-tongues. Special resources have been given to minority schools to make it possible for them to develop new working methods for supporting both the mother-tongues and the majority languages. And even if it is difficult to find proof of it in official documents or in research reports it seems true to say that the transition of Britain and Sweden from homogeneous to multi-cultural and multi-lingual societies has supported the interest of the national minorities in their own languages and cultures. And the new situation has also made it easier for them to make the authorities listen to and understand their educational needs.

Some other small minority groups which have existed in the two countries for a long period of time have also been mentioned earlier in this study. One of these groups could be worth mentioning for the sake of comparison and that is the Gypsies. For a long time they have obviously not been regarded by decision makers as a group worth taking into consideration as regards educational planning. Special needs based on their former nomadic way of living have only been vaguely analysed. In Sweden most of them are stationary nowadays, and efforts are made to develop materials for the learning and teaching of their mother-tongue in schools. In the central regulations for the Swedish educational system called "Skolförordningen" (Skollag, och skolförordning, 1981) there are fairly detailed guidelines for the education of Gypsy children. The following might be taken as an example:

> "Many Gypsy children may for different reasons have difficulties in following the teaching in the usual class. The local education authority may in such cases decide on separate teaching for Gypsy children. ... Teaching groups of Gypsy pupils should be small in order to make individual care possible. Pupils who belong to the same stage should be taken into the same group. In certain cases it is necessary to let a pupil have private instruction. In such cases the same number of lessons per week may be used as for a group of pupils" (op.cit. p. 35, the author's translation).

In the corresponding document for the British school system (Education in Schools, 1978), mentioned earlier (p. 115), the only short paragraph about Gypsy children states the following under the heading "The needs of travelling children":

> "Children of travelling parents, such as gypsies, present special problems to the education service. Many authorities are to be commended on the particular measures which they have taken to help this section of the community, for example, the West Midland Group Scheme for Gypsy Education, which makes use of mobile classrooms and operates across authority boundaries. The Secretaries of State hope that progress will be maintained; their Departments and H M Inspectors will assist" (op.cit. p. 23).

These quotations may not show any real differences between the attitudes or the treatment of Gypsy children in the two countries, but what they do show is differences in the administration of the two education systems. In Sweden central regulations prescribe what all schools should do if they have Gypsy children in their districts, whereas in Britain local initiatives are appreciated and expected to solve problems of this kind. Maybe the

differences will be smaller in the future, as reforms have been introduced in Sweden which aim at decentralizing decision making and minimizing the influence of central authorities on the planning and administration of the schools. We will return to this problem area later on.

12.4 MINORITY PUPILS IN SWEDISH AND BRITISH SCHOOLS

As has already been shown the number of immigrants is high in both countries. Differences in defining the term of immigrants make the numbers in the two countries diffucult to compare, but even if uncertainty is included into the exact number, the general overall picture is clear.

In Sweden statistics from 1978 show that 590 000 people in Sweden were born abroad. That means approximately 7 per cent of the total population of 8.4 million. Efforts have also been made to estimate the total number of people living in Sweden who have a foreign background. These figures include the second generation of immigrants, born in Sweden, children who have a mother or a father who is an immigrant and children of immigrants born after the parents had become Swedish citizens. The calculated figure then amounts to more than a million people and 13.1 per cent. It has not been possible to find any equivalent calculations for people in Britain with a foreign background.

In the Swedish comprehensive school there are 81 214 students out of a total number of 1 038 490 who are defined as immigrant children according to statistics from 1979 (p. 35 fol). The definition used is that they have another mother tongue than Swedish. That means an average of 7.8 per cent of the school population in the compulsory system. And there are more than forty different mother tongues in existence. 4.4 per cent of the students in the upper secondary school were immigrants according to the same statistical source. No corresponding figures have been found for Britain.

The age distribution of the immigrants in Sweden is different from that of the whole population. The largest groups are children and adults up to forty years of age. In the total population the groups of old age pensioners are larger than the groups of children and the groups of adults of working ages. This means that the average age of the immigrant population is considerably lower than that of the total population. And it also means that the number of immigrant children is increasing. It is reasonable to believe that the age distribution of immigrants is about the same in Britain.

According to figures taken from tables of the 1971 census and referred to earlier, nearly 3 million people in Britain were born overseas. They constituted 5.5 per cent of the total population of about 54 million people. These numbers do not include children born in Great Britain of people born overseas. It has not been possible to get the percentage of the total school population who are immigrants, as the official education statistics do not specify them (Education Statistics for the United Kingdom 1976 and 1977, 1979).

From 1967 to 1972 the Department of Education and Science collected statistics in this field but in such a way that it would be impossible to use them for discriminatory purposes. Immigrant children were defined in the following ways: (1) Children born outside the British Isles to parents whose countries are abroad and (2) children born in the English Isles whose parents lived here for less than ten years (Rex and Tomlinson, 1978).

After the parents had lived in Britain for ten years it was assumed that no special provision would be needed for their children and therefore they were not included in the statistics. Many groups, however, were against collecting these figures. Some thought that racists could use them to demonstrate how the schools were being overwhelmed by coloured children and others that these figures could arouse resentment and suspicions of racial discrimination among the immigrant groups. The figures available for 1967 and 1972 show that 2.1 per cent and 3.3 per cent respectively of the school population were immigrant children as defined above. But then the Department declared that these figures were administratively useless. Since then there has been an ongoing debate about the collection of this kind of educational statistics. Already in 1972 the Parliamentary Select Committee, earlier referred to (p. 98), recommended that a working party should be organized to formulate statistical requirements to make it possible to record the numbers of immigrant children at school. This has not yet been done.

In June 1981, however, the Secretary of State for Education and Science presented an interim report to Parliament (West Indian Children in our Schools, 1981). The main concern of the report, called the Rampton report after the chairman of the committee, is the poor performance of West Indian children in schools. Under the heading Value of Ethnically Based Statistics it is stated

"Ethnically based statistics can, we believe, be of value at all levels and to all parties within education: to central government, in determining policy; to LEAs in quantifying and locating particular needs; to schools so that they can take full account of the cultural and linguistic backgrounds of pupils and see whether any groups are underachieving or are disproportionately represented in any subject or class and to make an appropriate response; and to parents so that they can assess their child's performance in relation to his peers. We are therefore wholly in favour of the collection of educational statistics on an ethnic basis where they are to be used in establishing facts about how members of the ethnic minorities are faring in the education system" (op.cit. p. 66).

The age distribution of the immigrants in Britain shows the same characteristics as it does in Sweden. The average age of the immigrant population is lower than that of the total population.

Table 22. Age distribution of immigrants in Britain

Age	All coloured groups 1961	Total population	All coloured groups 1966	Total population	All coloured groups 1971	Total population
> 15	29	23	34	23	39	24
15-24	16	14	13	14	18	15
25-44	45	26	42	25	31	24
45 <	10	37	11	38	12	27

(Lomas, 1973)

The figures also show that the immigrant population has become younger compared to the total population between 1961 and 1971. And this again accounts for the same trend as in Sweden - the number of immigrant children in the schools is increasing. It also shows that only immigrants who are coloured have been taken into account.

12.5 EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES FOR IMMIGRANT EDUCATION

Even if, as mentioned earlier, official statistics are lacking on minority children in education in Britain, the number of such children is important for local educational planning and for the allocation of resources. In section 11 of the Local Government Act 1966 the following provision is made

"Subject to the provision of this section the Secretary of State may pay to local authorities who in his opinion are required to

> make special provision in the exercise of any of their functions in consequence of their presence within their areas of substantial numbers of immigrants from the Commonwealth whose language or customs differ from those of the community, grants of such amounts as he may with the consent of the Treasury determine on account of expenditure of such descriptions (being expenditure in respect of the employment of staff) as he may so determine" (Section 11, 1978, p 5).

Local authorities with 2 per cent or more immigrants are entitled to such grants which can be used for different purposes, all related to the employment of staff, like more teaching staff, liaison officers, interpreters, clerical staff, ancillary school staff, social workers and educational welfare officers. Grants, claimed under Section 11, should be used to finance 75 per cent of the extra staff who are employed to make special provisions for Commonwealth immigrants. In the fiscal year 1976/77 20 million pounds were used for this purpose (op.cit. p. 6).

Criticism exists against Section 11, as the rules need to be developed. The National Union of Teachers argue in their report, just mentioned, that the term immigrants should be replaced by minorities, that the limitation on people from the Commonwealth should be abolished and that the administration of the funds should be transferred from the Home Office to the D E S.

In 1976 a paper was prepared by the Community Relations Commission where both the Department and the LEAs were severely criticized for not having gone into any depth to identify the needs and the levels of provisions needed and the objectives of ethnic minority education. They also pointed to the fact that no national policy on this education had been formulated during the ten years that the Section 11 fund had existed. It was also noted that the resources had been distributed unevenly. In Brent where there were 24 per cent immigrants in the schools they received £ 6.87 per immigrant whereas Nottingham with 4.5 per cent received £ 20.97 (Rex and Tomlinson, 1979, p. 173).

There are some other possible ways of obtaining extra funds for immigrants. One is the urban aid programme, another the educational priority schemes for disadvantaged schools. And within the ordinary budget system resources for remedial teaching have been used for minority children. Within the EEC there is now a social fund for migrant education to which member governments can apply for such projects as language teaching centres, mother-tongue teaching, in-service training of teachers and education for unemployed school-leavers. In 1981 the British government was allotted resources by the EEC for a

mother-tongue teaching project of Punjabi and Greek.

Table 23. Total public expenditure on education in England 1979/80

Schools (England)	Current	Capital	Total
Under-fives	173.6		
Primary	1,680.0	322.9	5,014.9
Secondary	2,321.6		
Other	516.8		
Further education	1,059.3	76.9	1,136.2
School meals and milk			414.7

Under the heading Other, special schools, fees and grants to independent and direct grants schools, child guidance and health services and transport of pupils between home and school are included. Teacher training is included in further education (Annual Report 1980, 1981, p. 60).

It is easier in Sweden than it is in Britain to get an overall view of measures taken in the schools for extra help to immigrant children. They are paid for within the state budget and under special headings there. Therefore it is also easier to get statistics on these provisions and describe in detail how the resources have been used. As has been mentioned earlier in Chapter 6 (p. 68) educational services for minority children are now more diversified than they used to be. The provisions given to immigrant pupils have since the middle of the 1970s included mother-tongue teaching, study guidance in the mother-tongue and auxiliary education in Swedish as a foreign language. According to recent statistics 42 307 children took part in mother-tongue teaching in 1978, which is four per cent of all pupils in the compulsory school. And the same year 32 166 pupils had auxiliary education in Swedish as a foreign language and 14 438 pupils took part in study guidance in their mother-tongues. More than 45 000 lessons every week were used for lessons in Swedish as a foreign language. The same year 4 058 pupils wanted to take part in this education but for different reasons they did not do so. One of the reasons might have been lack of teachers in the languages in question. On the whole the interest shown by minority parents and pupils in mother-tongue education increased steadily in the 1970s. In 1972 only 9 000 took part in it.

During the last few years there has been a growing trend towards organizing special classes for immigrant children. In 1978 there were 367 classes for children of one language group where their mother-tongue was used as the medium of instruction. 163 classes consisted of one group of Swedish pupils and one group of minority children who had all the same mother-tongue. And in 84 classes there were only minority children of different languages and no Swedish pupils. In 1978 the number of classes for minority pupils, where the common mother-tongue was used as the medium of instruction, was five times as high as it was in 1974. This development has been qustioned by different groups. They fear that minority children could be more isolated from Swedish children by this arrangement and that their knowledge of Swedish would not be encouraged well enough. Some local education planners do not support the trend or try to stop it. And there are no clear answers to be taken from educational research results either. This problem is to a great extent dependent on whether immigration is regarded as a temporary or a permanent phenomenon. Finnish authorities and Finnish representatives in Swedish-Finnish and Nordic agencies have stated that the Finnish children are in Sweden only on a temporary basis, that they will return to Finland and that instruction in Finnish is urgent. Swedish equivalents have stated that the aim of active bilingualism should be valid for them. In March 1981 the former director general of the National Board of Education was commissioned by the government to look more carefully into these problems and ultimately suggest guide-lines for the educational planning in this field.

It is difficult to compare figures on total costs in the two countries as principles for state support are different. But information given by the Ministry of Education shows that about 50 per cent of the total costs are financed by state money in Sweden. As mentioned before, state support in Britain covers about 60 per cent of the total costs of the local authorities.

It is obvious and important that responsible authorities in both countries have allocated special resources for the education of minority children. According to different educational policies the resources have been used in different ways in the two countries, as will be discussed later. But as the freedom for local authorities to use their money is much greater in Britain than in Sweden, and as no statistics are collected on a national basis concerning the kinds of provision which have been offered to immigrant children in different areas in Britain, it is difficult to compare the amount of resources spent on immigrant education in the two countries. The resources allocated to immigrant education in 1979/80 amounted to about 500 million

Swedish crowns which would be the equivalent of about 50 million pounds (Minoritetsspråks- och invandrarundervisningens läromedelsförsäljning, 1981). For the fiscal year 1981-1982 644.4 million Swedish crowns were allocated over the state budget to the education system, including adult education but not the universities. Provisions for children under the age of seven are not included either (Skolväsendet 1982-83, 1981).

As mentioned before 20 million pounds were allocated in 1975-76 to priority areas, where the percentage of immigrant children is high. There are some other sources of finance for extra provisions in Britain, but it seems correct to say that British authorities have been far more restrictive in allocating money in this field than the Swedish authorities. It should also be noticed that areas where the minority groups do not amount to two per cent have not received any extra provisions. The necessary measures for minority children must be taken from the normal school budget. There are, however, advantages in the British system of greater scope for local initiatives. Local planning can take local conditions into account and be tailored to the specific needs of the community. The local availability of staff for different tasks can also become a decisive factor in educational planning. But then again it is a fact that educational opportunities for minority children vary considerably from one area to another in Britain.

During the immigration period Sweden has been in a more favourable economic situation generally, which has made it possible to allocate more resources to the educational sector in proportion to the population.

12.6 IMMIGRATION VERSUS EMIGRATION

Around the middle of the 1960s a State Commission on Labour Market Policy tried to estimate the future development of immigration in Sweden. They expressed rather unrealistic opinions about the effects of immigration and stated that workers from economically less developed countries, who had been employed in well-developed industries, would go back to their original countries in a few years time and that they would form an element of vocationally trained, skilled workers and thereby make it easier for their home countries to catch up with the technical and economic development of more industrialized countries. In this way immigration was given a double motivation. It would be beneficial for both countries. It was also considered as a fairly uncomplicated process. The immigrant would be welcomed as a

useful resource for a while, and he would then be gratefully accepted in his own country, when he returned home. As we know this did not happen to any great extent. Many views on immigration in Sweden have changed since then. One of the most important is that immigration is not a temporary thing. In most cases immigrant families have come to stay in the new countries. There are still immigrant countries where people who have come to work are not recognized as immigrants but are called guest workers. They only get visa for a limited period of time and are not even allowed to bring in their families and settle down in the host country. Such rules do not exist in Britain and Sweden.

In the 1970s certain restrictions were imposed on immigration. Up till then people had been invited to come to Sweden to work, as there was a shortage of industrial workers. Various arrangements were made by employers to help people to come to and settle down in Sweden. But gradually the situation changed and immigrants are no longer given free entrance into the country to work. Exceptions are political refugees, but there are limits on the number of refugees from different countries as well. Members of families who already live in Sweden are usually allowed to come in. The reason why the immigration figures are fairly high in spite of the restrictions is that there is an open Nordic labour market which means that citizens from another Nordic country do not need permission to work. Statistics on immigration have been accounted for in part one of this study. Let us just point to some figures here. In 1966 the total number of immigrants was 46 970, in 1970 it was 77 326, in 1975 it was 44 492 and in 1978 it was 36 187 (p. 48).

A similar pattern of immigration development can be noticed in Britain. During the closing years of the 1950s various arrangements were made to make it easier for people who wanted to go to Britain to do so. Travel agents, shipping lines and air companies made group arrangements. But gradually more demands were heard for Commonwealth immigration control. Restrictions were introduced in this field earlier in Britain than in Sweden. In 1965 the government published a white paper on immigration, which was followed by new instructions to immigration officers. Entry was to be allowed only if an employer guaranteed the immigrants jobs in Britain or to those who had certain qualifications as medical doctors, dentists or graduates in science and technology. The numbers of immigrants from non-European countries were 210 700 in 1965, 225 600 in 1979 and 187 [illegible] in 1978 (p. 91).

From figures given on page 94 it is possible to see that between 70 and 80 per cent of the coloured immigrants had been in Britain before March 1968, when a new Immigration Act was passed. The African Asians form an exception here, as about 60 per cent of them have arrived since 1968, mainly from Uganda, as a result of the decision made by Idi Ahmin, the dictator, to expel them. Recent immigration has been of wives and children of husbands already settled in Britain and political refugees from different countries of the world. This explains why already today most immigrant children in the British schools were born in the country.

Another important circumstance in both countries is that during the period of high immigration figures the numbers of emigrants (including immigrants who have returned to their native countries) have also been high. The following table gives comparable figures for the countries.

Table 24. British and Swedish immigration and emigration

	Britain				Sweden			
	1965	1970	1975	1978	1966	1970	1975	1978
Immigration	210,700	225,600	197,200	192,400	46, 970	77,226	44,492	36,187
Emigration	288,300	290,700	238,300	187,000	19,730	28,653	27,249	22.168

There were also years in the 1970s, namely 1972 and 1973, when emigration from Sweden exceeded immigration by more than 10,000 people (cf. p. 48).

The figures for Britain show that emigration figures have been higher than immigration figures during the whole period. Many well-educated British people have emigrated because they have been offered better positions and higher salaries overseas, especially in the United States. This "brain drain" has implied great disadvantages to scientific and technological development in the country. It is also one of the reasons why immigrants with educational qualifications have been favoured in England.

Both immigration and emigration have influenced the total number of children in the school-systems. There is no reason to believe that the age-structure of the emigrants differs much from that of the immigrants. Another reason why the number of school-children has not increased is the declining birth rates in all industrialized countries. So recent immigration in the two countries has not to any great extent changed the number of school-children

but it has changed the composition of the school population. The fact that Britain has had a negative and Sweden a positive balance of migration in recent years does not necessarily reduce the comparability of the policy for immigrant education in the two countries.

12.7 THE MINORITY POPULATION

The main original countries for immigrants to Britain during the last twenty-five years have been India, Pakistan, Australia, Canada and the West Indies (cf. p. 91). In the 1970s large groups also came from New Zealand and African states such as Zimbabwe (former Rhodesia) and Uganda. But if all people in Britain, who were born overseas are taken into account, whether they came during the last twenty-five years or not, the largest numbers have come from the following countries, in the order given: Ireland, India, West Indies, Africa, Germany, Pakistan (incl. Bangladesh), USA, Poland and Cyprus. (Exact figures are given on page 92.) Such a list of countries shows that immigration is not only a "racial problem" and that special measures for immigrants are not just called for "on racial grounds", as the Race Relations Act seems to indicate. As has been stated before, no figures exist in Britain concerning minority children in the schools and that is the reason why we have to use the total numbers of immigrants instead. In smaller numbers there are communities of immigrants in Britain from all parts of the world.

In Sweden the largest numbers of immigrants have come from the Nordic countries of which Finland is by far the dominating country. Fairly large groups have come from Yugoslavia, Greece, the Federal Republic of Germany, Turkey, Poland, Hungary and South America. Total numbers of immigrants from different countries have been given on page 38 and figures for immigrant children in the school-system have been given on page 44. There are also many small groups from other parts of the world. Altogether more than 40 different languages are now taught in Swedish schools.

From statistical information, from research reports and other documents on immigration it seems evident that immigration problems have been treated differently in the two countries. In Britain most emphasis has been focused on what is often called "black" and "brown" immigrants, that is immigrants from the Indian subcontinent and the West Indies. The others have to a great extent been ignored. Ethnic minority groups in Britain have mostly been defined according to racial characteristics. It may be true that these groups deviate more from the British majority population than other minority groups.

But it may be questioned if the linguistic difficulties might not be just as great in several other minority groups, such as people from Poland and Cyprus. In Sweden the minority groups have been predominantly defined according to their languages.

In reports on disadvantages experienced by minority people in Britain, the explanation has often been given that they are due to racial prejudice among the majority population. Examples may be taken from the first section of Chapter 10 in the British case-study (p. 96 and onwards). The current figures of unemployment for school-leavers in Britain are much higher for black and brown minority people than they are for white people of the same age-groups. This has been constantly discussed in mass-media during the last few years. Several compensatory projects have been introduced in order to help them. The same is true for Sweden. Unemployment for school-leavers is higher for minority than for majority people.

It would seem that up to now very little research in the two countries has been carried out in order to find out what impact cultural differences have had on the personal and family lives of the immigrants in their new countries. There are only rather vague implications that to many immigrants the permissiveness of their new countries as regards such phenomena as equality between the sexes and the sexual behaviour of young people in the majority communities have become heavy constraints on the traditional role of the family. The differences between the norms and values that young immigrant people get from school and society and those existing in their families are probably one of the reasons why some immigrant parents find it difficult to preserve a traditional family pattern. And such a pattern might be of value to avoid stress, homelessness and even delinquency. In Britain researchers seem to have focused on disadvantages felt by immigrants on racial grounds and on teaching and learning English as a second language. In Sweden much educational research has been concentrated on the linguistic problems of immigrants. Much research work remains to be done in both countries. It is necessary to focus on the total life situation of the immigrants in order to find out what measures should be taken in different fields such as social, educational, economic and cultural not to mention the political level on which all the others depend.

12.8 REGIONAL CONCENTRATION

As can be seen from the table on page 42 there are immigrants in all local government areas in Sweden, but they are very unevenly distributed. There are only few of them in agricultural and forestry areas, but they are concentrated to industrial districts. The Stockholm area accounts for about twenty per cent of the total population of foreign citizens. The three biggest metropolitan areas - Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö - have together about a third, whereas typical agricultural areas in the south as Kalmar and Gotland only have one or two per cent. The same goes for northern forestry districts like Jämtland with about one per cent.

The concentration of immigrants within the metropolitan areas is also uneven. Due to housing policy and the circumstance that different areas are regarded as more or less attractive to live in, prices of land, houses and flats vary considerably. The immigrants have had to settle down in less attractive areas, where most houses have been built by building companies owned by the local authorities. In these areas it has also been possible for the authorities to allocate the available flats. In more attractive areas most houses have been built by private firms and are privately owned. The owners there have mostly decided themselves who should rent or buy houses and flats in the area. In areas like Danderyd, Lidingö and Täby most flats are privately built and to get them people must be prepared to pay fairly high sums of money. These local authority areas are the richest around Stockholm and they have the lowest numbers of immigrants. In areas with high immigrant figures like Botkyrka, Handen and Södertälje most houses have been built by companies, supported by the local authorities.

This again has had its effects on taxation in the areas. The wealthiest people live in areas where the local rates are lower than in the areas where there are many immigrants. There is less need for public expenditure on social services in these areas. In the immigrant areas the rates are higher but the population is poorer and the resources for urgent needs are smaller.

This concentration of the immigrant population has given some schools very high percentages of immigrant children with many different languages. There are single schools where half or more of the pupils are immigrants and twenty different languages are taught.

The same concentration of coloured immigrants can be found in Britain. They live in industrial areas, whereas there are very few of them in agricultural districts. According to figures quoted on page 93 , more than 57 per cent of the immigrants from Africa, the West Indies, India and Pakistan live in the South East - the London area. The percentage of the total immigrant population living there is about 34. Another area with a high concentration is the Midlands. In the northern area and in Wales the percentage of immigrants is less than one per cent, whereas the percentages of the total population in these areas are about 7 and 6 respectively. Within the industrial districts most immigrants live in inner city areas or certain suburban districts. There are more attractive and less attractive housing areas, just as is the case in Sweden. For many immigrants it has been difficult to get access to a council hose or get a mortgage for a house in a good suburban area. But there is a privately rented sector in this complex pattern of housing in the big metropolitan areas, and there are a number of private land-lords who rent their often run-down properties at high prices, thus making maximum use of a difficult housing situation with a shortage of flats within economic reach for most immigrants. But it has also been possible for immigrants to buy their own houses in these slum areas by different economic arrangements, often at great disadvantages to the buyer.

In many big cities there have been slum clearance programmes to improve housing conditions in the inner areas of the cities. But when old houses are pulled down and replaced by new ones, there is the problem of rehousing the inhabitants. The inner city sites and buildings are often so overcrowded that the only thing to do has been to build high blocks of flats. A large number of these have now appeared on the cleared inner-city sites. It soon became ovbious that these buildings did not solve many social problems but created new ones. Most people tried to avoid these areas and only those who could not find an alternative moved in there. In a publication based on sociological research work in Birmingham (Rex and Tomlinson, 1979) the authors write in an outburst of emotions:

> "It was suggested then, given the dominant ideology surrounding the rehousing business, namely that social status improvement lay in semi-detached suburbia, rehousing in tower-blocks in the inner city was at best an ill-understood alternative unlikely to be acceptable to those to whom it was offered. ... The tower-blocks now rose directly from the demolition sites and from the new network of urban motorways which made them even more terrifying islands for isolated pedestrians" (op.cit. p. 134).

In a report by the Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration the committee pointed to several ways in which local authority policy might discriminate against immigrants:

> "(a) In devising a 'points' scheme for the allocation of housing to families on the waiting list which placed undue emphasis on length of local residence so that it prejudiced the applications of newcomers to the area who were in many cases in greater housing needs.
>
> (b) By the omission from slum clearance and redevelopment programmes of those areas which contain large numbers of immigrants families.
>
> ...
>
> (f) In creating 'ghettos' in certain zones. ..."
> (Housing vols. 1-4, 1971, p. 43).

In short there are the same trends as have earlier been pointed to as typical in Sweden. There is maybe one difference worth mentioning here. In Sweden the problem of run-down inner-city areas has not existed to the same extent as in Britain. Instead most inner city areas are regarded as highly attractive with high prices and therefore unattainable for most immigrants.

The housing concentration has also resulted in schools with high percentages of immigrant children. In Birmingham, which is a city with many immigrants, the local education authorities continued to collect educational statistics on their immigrant children after the Department of Education and Science had ceased to do so. This went on until January 1975, when it had to be stopped, as the opposition from the teachers' unions had become very strong. Some figures given in the sociological project report, earlier mentioned in this section (op.cit. pp. 179-181) can be used to illustrate the situation.

Table 25. Minority children in schools in Birmingham

Schools	January 1975 Percentage of non-European pupils
Stanmore	66.03
St Paul's R.C.	1.41
St Philips R.C.	0.42
Barford J.I.	62.03
Highgate	81.19
Anderton Park J.I.	90.25
St Anne[illegible] J. I.	1.33

The regional concentration within the regions are obvious phenomena in both countries and so are the disadvantages. Many effects of this concentration are due to a negative concentration in other aspects, such as social, educational and economic. Concentration per se of people with some characteristics in common is of course not always negative. People can feel secure and happy with the same linguistic and cultural background and with the same set of values.

There is a tendency in both countries to treat immigrants as a homogeneous group, when analyses on educational or housing problems are made by local authorities or even when some researchers report on their results. But this could only be done from the egocentric viewpoint of the majority society. The only thing that most of these different groups have in common is that they are more or less newcomers in the countries where they live. Otherwise most characteristics are different like their cultures, their languages and their educational background. In Sweden there are certain groups with similar characteristics and values, such as those coming from Finland and Denmark. But immigrants from Turkey and Finland do not have much in common when they meet in Sweden. And in the report from Britain earlier quoted on page 95 in this study, it has been stated that this lumping together of immigrants is bizarre. Asians and West Indians did not originally regard themselves as members of the same or similar racial or cultural groups. The Asians had known white British people in India, but they had not met West Indians until they came to Britain.

Chapter 13 Education of Minorities

13.1 GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

The nine-year compulsory school in Sweden offers the same curriculum to all pupils - the same compulsory subjects are taught and the general idea is that pupils and parents should choose among the optional subjects according to their own needs and wishes. Pupils should not be forced by teachers or by examination results to choose certain subjects. Instruction should be individualized according to the needs of the individual pupil. There should be a minimum standard of all children but the individual level should be based on the abilities, talents and interests of the pupil. The leading principle of the reform work over the last twenty-five years has been that education should offer all children equal educational opportunities. Geographical and economic obstacles as well as social or cultural difficulties should be overcome. This comprehenisve system takes more than 98 per cent of the children in Sweden. The private schools are so few that they may be overlooked here.

Recent reforms have aimed at increasing the local influence and make education more decentralized. Decisions and responsibility are being transferred from the central to the local levels. A new curriculum has been introduced in 1980 and the new administrative pattern will be fully implemented in 1982. All political parties agree that Sweden should maintain a homogeneous educational system in the future and that equal educational standards should be attained all over the country. But this general goal might be more difficult to reach in a decentralized system where the differences between various local authorities will inevitably be more obvious. Social and economic structures vary to such an extent that there is a risk of local planning leading to substantial differences in educational standards.

The National Board of Education will be ultimately responsible for equal standards in the schools and will have certain instruments for carrying out this responsibility. One is the curriculum, the concept of which is not the

same in Sweden as in Britain. In Sweden it is used about a working-plan for the education system which is valid all over the country. It contains certain parts, which have been established by parliamentary decisions: the general aims of education, the subjects to be taught and the number of lessons in different subjects. The detailed planning on the basis of the curriculum, however, will be left to the local authorities and ultimately to the individual schools. Another instrument for the work of the central authorities will be resources for educational research projects, which will be carried out by university institutions and which are regarded as important factors for long-term planning. It remains to be seen if these tools will be sufficient to guarantee equal standards.

As has been mentioned in Chapter 12, section 8, the concentration of immigrant pupils to certain less attractive districts, especially metropolitan areas (to call them deprived areas would perhaps be exaggerating) could imply less favourable opportunities for them than for majority children. The economic situation in those areas may be so difficult that the schools become less well-equipped. And as these areas are sometimes also social problem areas the best teachers would perhaps try to avoid them. The greater local freedom to use the educational resources could mean insufficient provision for immigrant pupils. But as decentralization is just now being introduced, it is difficult to foreseee its consequences in this field.

One way of finding out whether immigrant pupils use their potential fully or not would be to investigate how many of them proceed to upper secondary education, after they have left compulsory school. Recent experiences show that the situation is not as bad as many had thought. In a survey made by the National Board of Education (Elever med annat hemspråk än svenska, som gick ut ur grundskolan 1979, 1981) it has been shown that an average of 69 per cent of the immigrant pupils, who were 7 095, proceeded to upper secondary school the same year immediately after they left comprehensive school. Even if there is a marked difference here (69 to 80) it cannot be regarded as extremely bad. More alarming is another fact, revealed by this study. 74 per cent of the immigrant pupils who have good knowledge of Swedish proceeded to upper secondary school, whereas only 46 per cent of those whose knowledge is deficient did so. It would seem here that knowledge of the majority language is a decisive factor for further education.

Up till now the majority of the immigrant pupils have been in comprehensive school. The situation on the labour market has now made it difficult for

young school-leavers to get jobs. It is not yet possible to see what implications this might have for the interest of immigrants in enrolling in higher education. The general picture in the university system is still that working-class students are few in proportion to their total number. Some positive trends have been observed over the last few years as a result of new entrance rules, which allow a certain number of students to enroll even if their background qualifications are not equal to the general standards. As a compensation for this they should be over twenty-five and should have been working for at least four years. The general social structure of the university students, however, is not by any means the same as for the total population.

The situation of the immigrants in the education system is a matter of concern to the responsible authorities. It is a fact in Sweden as in Britain that migrant workers of the first generation have often accepted jobs which are badly paid, dirty and monotonous, jobs which members of the majority groups try to avoid. Butit is serious if this pattern should be transformed to the second generation of immigrants. The political and education systems which are supposed to be democratic and give equal chances to all inhabitants will then have created a permanent under-class, who cannot use or are not allowed to use their democratic rights properly.

The situation in Britain is different in many ways, as the British education system is much more heterogenous. There are publicly maintained schools, which are free of charge, independent schools, where parents have to pay school fees and public schools which are private and charge very high school fees. In 1977 it was stated by the authorities that 80 per cent of the pupils attended comprehensive schools either publicly maintained or independent. The so-called public schools with their highly selective system can be left aside here, as very few if any immigrant children are in them. The remaining children are educated in areas, where they are selected for education in different types of secondary schools according to their abilities and academic attainment. Even if most children go to comprehensive schools, this does not mean that they are always educated together. As the local freedom is almost total, many schools stream their pupils very strictly according to their performances, which often results in a separation of immigrants from the regular student groups.

Many educational research studies in Britain have aimed at investigating the chances of working-class children to go to grammar schools, as the structure

of these schools have been predominantly middle-class. Nowadays this is a minor problem as the number of grammar schools is decreasing. Instead it may be questioned if the fee-paying sector has not become more prestigious and is looked upon as a passport to at least white-collar employment and in many cases to university education, where again there are more or less prestigious universities.

In recent years these problems have acquired new dimensions in Britain with the rapid growth of disadvantaged and even deprived areas in the inner cities. The problem for many parents there does not seem to be whether or not schooling could promote equal educational opportunities and social mobility, but whether it could mean access to the same rights and opportunities as for the rest of the working-class in other less deprived areas.

As should be seen in Chapter 12, section 8, the concentration of immigrant children is extremely high in certain schools in the metropolitan areas. The question of dispersal or "bussing" of immigrant children has been discussed over a long period of time. A Department Circular, earlier referred to on page 106 , stated under the heading Spreading the Children that no school should have more than about one-third of immigrant pupils. The catchment areas should be arranged in such a way that too strong concentrations of immigrant children were avoided. If this should not be possible, the local education authorities were advised to make arrargements for the transportation of immigrant pupils. Many authorities never adopted the policy of dispersing their immigrant pupils and others made marginal adjustments of catchment areas. Opposition against this has come both from white people, who wanted to keep coloured children out of certain schools, and from West Indian spokesmen. The latter thought that bussing would mean an open declaration that black children cause educational problems and that bussing could be taken as an excuse by authorities not to do anything about other problems like housing and to forget about necessary community support in other fields.

There is still comparatively little information available on immigrant performances at school. Few systematic studies have been made in this field. Some studies, however, have shown that the school standards of West Indian children are low, that an exceptionally high percentage of them get remedial teaching and that too many of them are regarded as sub-normal (cf. Bagley, 1979 and Yule et al., 1975). In a report the Select Committee on Race and Immigration (The West Indian Community Vols. 1-3, 1977) suggested an inquiry into the poor standards of the West Indian children. The Home Office

presented a white paper to Parliament in 1978, entitled The West Indian Community. The Secretary of State acknowledged the special difficulties of West Indian children. But the proposed study was not accepted. Recognizing that as a group West Indian pupils fail to achieve their full potential the Secretary of State goes on to say:

> "The Government is also bound to recognize that there are special difficulties experienced by pupils of Asian origin and from other ethnic groups for whom English is not their mother tongue. Moreover the preparation of all children for life in a multi-racial society raises many complex issues which call for thorough examination. The Government has therefore decided that an inquiry should be set up to consider these matters" (op.cit. p. 7.24).

A report should be submitted as soon as possible recommending what measures should be taken. As has been mentioned on page 135 the report was published in 1981 (West Indan Children in our Schools, 1981).

Different explanations have been given to West Indian children's poor performance in comparison with all other groups. One has been that their language problems have not been observed well enough. Their Créole English might be an impediment and they should have more training in English as a second language. Another reason may be that West Indians have not found ways of preserving their culture. In the sociological study, earlier referred to on page 146, the authors write:

> "Like black Americans, West Indians feel that they face a culture within which the achievements of white Europeans are continually asserted, while black men always appear in a degraded role. This is so deeply entrenched in our culture, according to this view, that it has become unconscious. Thus the process of becoming educated for a black child means having to learn to accept an inferior image of himself. The only way he can be saved from this is by being given an alternative education, if not in place of, then in addition to that which is given in the schools" (Rex and Tomlinson, 1979, pp. 170-171).

Even if such conclusions would seem too far-reaching for most researchers, some explanations might be found along such lines. It would seem, however, that West Indians have an accumulated socio-linguistic handicap in Britain. They belong to another race, their language is not standard English and regarded as socially low-status English.

Other conclusions have been drawn on the concentration of coloured children in certain schools in the Birmingham project. The authors say that fee-paying

schools are used by a wide income range of white parents to escape the comprehensive system. They claim:

> "It seems extremely likely that in heavily immigrant areas the same strategy will be pursued by whites to escape the stigma of having their children educated in black schools. More and more it will be the case that the majority of black children will be educated in black schools" (op.cit. p. 203).

It would seem, when we compare the education systems of the two countries that the Swedish system would offer the same educational opportunities to all children. Almost all children in the country go to the same kind of schools, where the same subjects are taught within similar educational framework. The parents cannot choose what school they want to send their children to. Every school has a catchment area for all children living there. But then again it is obvious that in areas with high immigrant concentrations the quality of education might be lower than in other areas, not because the immigrants are there but because the housing problems have made them live in areas with social and economic problems. Maybe it is true that immigrant disadvantages are more hidden in education in Sweden than they are in Britain and may be that they are due more to housing policy than to educational policy. The educational disadvantages in Britain are also easier to confirm on the basis of reports of lower school achievements by immigrant children than by children of the minority population. It has been shown that West Indian achievements are very poor, that Asian children perform better than West Indians and that Asian parents value school more than West Indian parents do. But it has also been shown that both West Indian and Asian children are less successful in a number of educational achievement tests than the majority children are (cf. Halsey, 1972). Similar studies have not been carried out in Sweden, where most educational research work has focused on the linguistic field.

The Department of Educational Planning within the Swedish National Board of Education makes regular surveys and inquiries in order to collect material for long-term planning. They addressed inquiries to the local education authorities and asked them to report the average marks of the immigrant pupils who left grade 9 of comprehensive school in 1979. This was done in the survey of the number of immigrants who proceeded to upper secondary school (page 150).

The group of students consisted of 7 095 pupils who had more than 50 different mother tongues, though half of them were Finnish-speaking. Minority children such as Lapps, Finnish-speaking Swedes from the North and Gypsies have been included. The statistical mean of achievement in the Swedish system is 3. The highest award is 5 and the lowest is 1. The average marks were lower for pupils who had insufficient knowledge of Swedish (2.7) than for pupils who can master Swedish well (3.3). Up till now no more thorough studies have been made in this field. The difference between 2.7 (immigrants) and 3.3 (Swedes) might seem small. The overlapping is obvious, meaning that there are immigrants who are superior to Swedes as well as the reverse.

13.2 THE LANGUAGE PROBLEM

As can be seen from the two case-studies, Britain and Sweden have been aware of the impact of linguistic knowledge on the performances of immigrant children at school. The awareness of politicians, authorities, teachers and parents has gradually increased. Various measures have been taken to make special provisions. It seems to be obvious that many of the problems which immigrant children have to cope with, can be traced back to language difficulties. But it would be to simplify a complex situation if all handicaps of immigrant children were reduced to this. To enter a new culture can cause a "cultural shock", which makes the period of adaptation to the new life situation long and troublesome. Other disadvantages which have been pointed to both in the case-studies and in earlier sections of this chapter include bad housing, unemployment and clashes of norms and values in the families. They can all have an impact on the performances of immigrant pupils at school.

13.2.1 The Acquisition of the Majority Languages

In Britain it would seem that up till now most interest has been focused on the learning of English by immigrant pupils. In a devolved system like the British most decisions on immigrant education have been taken locally. This accounts for differences between the local education authorities. It is, however, the task of the Department of Education and Science to express a national policy on which local policies should be based. No material was published on the national level in the 1960s. But as concentrations of immigrant pupils gradually became apparent, an informal co-operation developed between a group of H M inspectors and local education authorities. One of the starting points was that inspectors brought to the attention of local education authorities a fear that the growing number of immigrant

children in their schools might cause educational problems. Many of the authorities concerned had not yet understood how big the problems were and had no ideas how they should be solved. The Department Circular 7/65 (p. 106) did not express an agreed educational policy but contained advisory material on the needs of immigrant children and it strongly emphasized the importance of their language education. There is no doubt that by language education they meant the learning of English. The policy material on immigrant education, earlier referred to on page 103 (The Education of Immigrants, 1971) is still valid. Language education is a major issue there too. Local education authorities made special provisions for their immigrant pupils in different ways. They also arranged language education differently. Some authorities established reception centres, where the pupils received simple lessons in oral English and where there should be adult immigrants on the staff to solve problems in the mother tongue of the immigrant children.

At first many authorities placed immigrants in classes which were appropriate to their age on their arrival at the school. But both the teachers and the authorities soon realized that special provision was needed. This was mostly made in the form of withdrawal groups. The arrangements varied considerably from one local authority to another and they still do. In some areas teachers were allotted ancilliary staff so that the class teacher could take the immigrants separately for language lessons. It was regarded as advantageous for the teacher to get to know his or her immigrant children. But fairly soon the immigrant pupils were being taken for language lessons by teachers who had taken a special university course in teaching English as a second language. And it was realized quite early that teaching English as a second language is completely different from teaching it as a first language. University courses in English as a second language started in the 1960s.

The author of this study made a study tour of immigrant education in Britain in 1970 and at that time English as a second language was a major issue. University courses had already started. The amount of time that immigrant children spent in different withdrawal groups varied in different areas. In some places special classes were established for non-English speaking immigrants. The pupils from these classes gradually joined their normal classes. The most controversial form of organization of language education has been when immigrant pupils have been put in groups in need of remedial help. It has now become obvious that methods of teaching should not be the same for immigrant pupils as they are for British children who have difficulties in the basic subjects. If the two groups are placed in the same remedial class,

neither of them may get the help they need.

The current policy material on education as a whole was presented to Parliament in 1977 (Education in Schools, 1978). Very little is said there about the specific needs of immigrant children: less than one page of almost fifty is devoted to this subject. The Commission for Racial Equality published a memorandum in 1978 (Comments on Education in Schools, 1978) with comments on the policy document submitted to Parliament. One of their recommendations is about language in education, but only problems in learning English as a second language. They also recommended a special study aimed at investigating the development of literacy and communication skills of immigrant pupils and at finding out what training and support the teachers need. One of the reasons why they wanted this study was that so many different approaches had been adopted to the language education of immigrant children and that it might be questioned if all teachers involved had sufficient qualifications.

Insufficient knowledge of English among immigrant pupils has been a matter of great concern to teachers and education authorities for a long time and it still is. One aspect of the problem might have been insufficiently taken into account namely language difficulties of West Indian children. That their mother tongue is closely linked to English is obvious, but as that language is different and in some cases more restricted in grammar and vocabulary they experience difficulties, when they are educated in standard English, without any education in this language.

In Sweden many efforts have been made to formulate immigration policy on the national level. The language problems have been more and more emphasized. This also means that the role of the mother tongue in education has been a major issue and has developed gradually. (This will be dealt with in the next section of this chapter.) The first state commission report on language problems for immigrants, published in 1965 (Arbetsmarknadspolitik, Labour Market Policy), has been mentioned earlier. This report mainly dealt with labour market policy so nothing can be found in it about language in education. Another state commission delivered a report in 1966 (Skolgång hemma och borta, Schooling at Home and Abroad), which formed the basis of parliamentary decisions in 1968 on policy matters. It was decided that the Swedish comprehensive school should be a school for all children, irrespective of their social, economic and religious background. The Swedish parliament rejected separate classes for immigrant children at that stage, but this has now changed as has been remarked in Chapter 3, section 2.3. There is now a

rapid growth of separate classes in different organizational framework. Existing immigrant policy has been based on a state commission report from 1974 (Invandrarutredningen 3, Immigrants and Minorities) and parliamentary decisions in 1975. Three major goals have been established: equality, freedom of choice and co-operation. In the field of language reinforcement measures were proposed and accepted by the Swedish parliament. The objective of language education should be active bilingualism.

As a basis for the organization of language education for immigrant children the local education authorities make regular inventories of the needs of resources for immigrants. The local authorities are responsible for auxiliary education but state resources are granted to finance it. Auxiliary education consists of two parts: Swedish as a second language and study guidance which can apply to all subjects. The extent of auxiliary education is decided for every individual child on the basis of his or her knowledge of Swedish. The diagnosis is made jointly by a teacher of Swedish and a teacher of the mother tongue. The groups of Swedish as a second language are usually small, about five pupils and not all teachers have been trained in teaching Swedish as a second language. Study guidance aims at helping the pupils to overcome difficulties caused in any subject by insufficient knowledge of Swedish. Teachers who are in charge of this instruction should know the pupil's mother tongue, and material in the mother tongue can be used, if it is available. In the last few years a more diversified education for immigrant pupils has been developed.

The State Commission on Immigration, appointed in 1980, is to make suggestions concerning the future development of immigrant policies. Among many other things the Commission will consider how social and economic equality for immigrants could be combined with the rights of minorities to preserve their own cultures and languages.

Both countries have made great efforts to support the learning of the majority languages by immigrants. The teaching of English as a second language in Britain has longer traditions than the teaching of Swedish as a second language in Sweden. It would also seem to be true to say that the problem of teaching the immigrants was observed earlier in Britain and necessary resources were allocated. The pattern of language education in Britain is more heterogeneous than it is in Sweden. It may be questioned if the greater freedom in Britain might not have caused disadvantages to certain immigrant children as local education authorities have used their resources differently

(cf for instance Chapter 10.2.3). As the special provisions are allocated only to areas where there is a certain concentration of immigrant pupils and not to individual pupils, there are bound to be pupils who get very little extra support. And there might be a risk of priority being given to other educational needs than those specifically felt by immigrants. The more rigid and homogeneous system in Sweden can also have its disadvantages. It is not easy for the central authorities to take conditions of single schools into account when allocating resources. The standardized rules may sometimes mean a waste of money and do not always force the local education authorities to make such detailed plans as to ensure the optimum use of available resources.

13.2.2 The Role of the Mother Tongue

As stated earlier the objective of language education in Sweden should now be active bilingualism. In a supplement to the curriculum (Curriculum for the Comprehensive School Lgr 69. Supplement, 1973) it is stated under the heading Concerning Bilingualism:

> "Recent linguistic research has demonstrated and greatly emphasized the importance of the first language (the home language) to the child's emotional and intellectual development. If the home language is allowed to stagnate when the child starts school at the same time as another language is introduced as the school language, there is a serious risk of both languages being incompletely developed. Experience has shown that the case with which many immigrant pupils speak idiomatic everyday Swedish can be a mere "lingusitic façade" concealing grave deficiencies with regard to vocabulary, reading comprehension and conceptual apprehension, while the same deficiencies also apply the home language. ... But the most powerful reason for safeguarding the immigrant pupil's home language is our knowledge of the profound personal importance of the home language to each individual" (pp. 95-96, English version of the text).

The policy on the role of the mother tongue in education has developed over a fairly long period of time. It was finally adopted in 1975 and differs greatly from the policy adopted by the middle of the 1960s, when all efforts were focused on how to make it easier for the immigrants to adapt themselves as quickly as possible to Swedish conditions. The current language policy has had implications also for teacher training and development of didactic materials. Two-year courses are run at the universities for mother tongue teachers in Finnish, Greek, Turkish, Spanish and Serbo-Croatian. Primary teacher training with both Finnish and Swedish as languages of instruction has existed for a couple of years.

In 1981 a working group within the National Board of Education have suggested to the government that a national resource centre should be established for information on materials for mother tongue teaching existing in the original countries, and materials for Swedish as a second language. The centre should also give service and advice to mother tongue teachers, especially for teachers of languages where the pupil groups are small and where teachers can get very little local support. Resources should also be allocated for the development of certain didactic materials in fields where commercially produced materials do not exist. But resources needed should amount to one per cent only of the total resources spent on immigrant education.

In Britain the mother tongue in education has been a minor issue. The efforts have been concentrated on English as a second language. There have been some minor projects on mother tongue teaching, mostly organized by local schools. A staff member from a minority group has taken an initiative to teach the mother tongue in addition to the curriculum. But there is little information on this, as no central statistics are collected. The Bullock report (A Language for Life, 1975), earlier referred to (p. 118) is in favour of bilingualism generally, but there are no suggestions what measures should be taken in order to make bilingualism viable. Further research on the teaching of the mother tongue was suggested in the report. But there have been no reports of results. Traditionally many minority communities in Britain organize language education for their members. This language education varies from one community to another and there is no information available as to the number of children who take part in it. The contents and probably the quality and standards differ too.

Two projects established by the Department of Education and Science have been mentioned earlier (p. 120) as well as some projects initiated by local education authorities. The most challenging phenomenon in the field of mother tongue teaching is the EEC Directive from 1977, discussed earlier (p. 119). In some European countries there have been reactions against it, especially the part on mother tongue teaching, although they have themselves made provisions for it in their countries. The reasons are sooner political than educational. Politicians on different levels are afraid that such directives might be enforced only by greater control by central governments and that the principles of local autonomy which are important in countries like Britain would be threatened by them.

A newspaper article might be taken as an example of the kind of opposition in Britain against the directive. It seems obvious that the directive can arouse rather strong emotions. (Derby Evening Telegraph 25 January, 1976). The heading reads "Teachers Opposing Directive on Immigrants". In the article the following is stated:

> "Common Market proposals for the education of children of immigrant workers in this country would cost £ 50 million and be totally alien to the nature of the education service. In criticising and opposing the EEC draft directive on the education of immigrant workers' children, which proposes that they should be taught in their mother-tongue, the Derby based Professional Association of Teachers today urged the Education Secretary to use his power of veto to present any such agreement being signed. If the directive became law it would have to be law in this country and would over-ride British law. It would create a dangerous precedent in that it would tell schools in this country directly what they will teach and that has never happened before. This directive would mean taking on new teachers who could teach in the mother-tongue of the immigrants. This would be outrageous when already there are 7 000 trained teachers in Britain unable to find employment. Obviously some consideration should be given to the mother-tongue and cultural needs of immigrant pupils, but this should be done within the community itself and not by law from Brussels."

Mother tongue teaching is a field where the two countries have adopted different policies. First it should be fair to say that linguistic research has not provided politicians and authorities with indisputable answers to questions of optimal models for language education. And there are so many other factors beside the purely linguistic ones to take into consideration when a language policy should be worked out. And as often is the case in policy matters, decision makers have to include a wide range of factors of a political, economic and social character.

Several factors have contributed to the different approaches. Reasons for the decisions in Britain may be:

- Most immigrants have some knowledge of English, often very deficient. For many immigrants English is their mother tongue (Irishmen and West Indians) even if their English is different from British English.

- English is one of the world languages. It is a common phenomenon in many countries of the world that English alone or together with one of existing indigeneous languages is the official language.

- English is such an important means of communication in the modern world that learning this language is more important for the individual and for society than any other language learning.

- People who can speak English have few communication problems - at least in the Western world. Immigrant children in Britain have so many different mother tongues that it would be impossible to satisfy all linguistic needs.

- The implications for the education system of mother tongue teaching would be heavy. Changes in teacher training would be necessary as new categories would have to get teacher education. Unemployment, which is already a proble for trained teachers, would increase.

- Mother tongue teaching would need resources at a time when the situation for public expenditure is difficult. Many sectors have to face cut-backs. To get the necessary resources the only alternative might be to cut down costs in other fields.

The Swedish approach to language education can be explained by factors like the following:

- Swedish is a small language compared to most other languages in the Western world. It has long been accepted that it cannot be used as a means of communication outside Sweden.

- All Swedish children have to learn one foreign language - English - at school. And most of them also take a third language. For most Swedes translation into Swedish from foreign languages and from these languages into Swedish is nowadays an everyday concern (through TV, at school etc). This creates a kind of "openmindedness" to foreign tongues which hardly exists in countries with a world language.

- Language learning is not regarded as a luxury but as a necessity in Sweden.

- It would be more likely in Sweden than in Britain that immigrants want to go back to their original countries. Half of the Swedish immigrants have come from Finland. No passports are needed between Sweden and Finland, as the Nordic countries are regarded as a common labour market. In Finland the economic evolution has been favourable during the last few years and a number of Finnish immigrants have returned.

Mother tongue teaching is so important that it is worth the rather heavy expenditure and the changes in teacher education. Decisions were made, however, in a more favourable economic situation and in many educational fields cut-backs have been made. Immigrant education is regarded as a priority area and there have not been any restrictions there yet.

13.3 EDUCATION FOR A MULTI-CULTURAL SOCIETY

Since the 1960s it has been emphasized in Britain that all teachers and all pupils should be aware that they live in a multi-cultural society and that education has a great responsibility here. This has been a major concern in the planning of teacher education for a long time (cf. Chapter 10.2.2). In the policy document, now valid for education in Britain, referred to several times before (Education in Schools, 1978) it is clearly stated that "schools should educate all pupils for life in a multi-racial society".

The problem how far immigrant children should be assimilated into the majority culture has been discussed by the Commission for Racial Equality (p. 116). They have stated that there are two extreme views on this problem. One is that minority children should be completely assimilated. The other is that education should reinforce or maintain the original cultures of immigrant children. The educational objective should not be formulated, as they said, in either of these extreme forms. The first ignores desires to preserve aspects of minority cultures and the second ignores that many immigrants want to adopt the majority culture as their own.

Many advisory materials for teachers have been published by different authorities and associations and didactic materials have been developed to help teachers to fulfill their tasks.

Some local education authorities have employed advisers for multi-cultural education to strengthen the work done in this field. The term multi-cultural education has sometimes been used to describe a subject meant for pupils of the minority groups. But in recent material it is underlined that this should not be the case.

> "The main point made in this report is that multicultural education is central to the learning process and not an optional extra. It is not about "adding on" multicultural aspects to an inherently ethnocentric curriculum .... An ethnocentric curriculum is discriminatory and perpetuates racism. An explicit shift in concept is necessary" (Report of the Director of Education, London Borough of Brent, 1981).

Attached to this report is a policy statement by the local education authorities in Brent:

> "The Council's Policy Statement on Multi-cultural Education (Adopted on Oct. 21 1981)
>
> (1) the Council of the London Borough of Brent, responsible for education in a population of 250,000, recognises and welcomes the community as multi-racial, multi-cultural, multi-religious and multi-lingual;
>
> (2) while the Council considers its responsibilities to extend beyond respect of the 1976 Race Relations Act and to be greater than the mere avoidance of racial discrimination, our first aim must be to ensure that discrimination and racialism do not hinder our children; secondly to define and combat racism and the discriminatory practices for which it gives rise;
>
> (3) the Council is committed to a fundamental and significant change to a multi-cultural education based on a concept of cultural pluralism. The recognition that all people and cultures are inherently valuable must be a constant from which all educational practice will be developed;
>
> (4) the Education system must be one which affords equality of opportunity to all children. We shall develop a plan and strategy to make the means of achievement consistent with the aims;
>
> (5) we intend to set in train a thorough appraisal of curricular arrangements. That which is taught must be meaningful and significant to all pupils, inclusive of aspects of their way of life, and at the same time leading to a full education appropriate to their age, ability and aptitude."

In Sweden the goals of immigrant policy state clearly that it whould be possible for the immigrants themselves to decide how far they want to be integrated into the Swedish society. Resources have been allocated to different immigrant associations for development of their cultural activities. But it would seem that in education most interest has been concentrated on the immigrant pupils. Not so much has been done to increase the awareness of the majority children that Sweden is a multi-cultural society. There may be a risk in the current situation in that multi-cultural education is something that the mother tongue teachers take care of and that the Swedish teachers ignore these aspects in their work.

Here again there would seem to exist differences between the two countries. The aspects of multi-cultural education have been more emphasized in Britain than in Sweden. One reason for this is that the multi-cultural characteristics are not so obvious in Sweden. More than half of the immigrants have come from Finland, which is culturally similar to Sweden and which to a

great extent shares its history with Sweden. And the groups of immigrants who have racial characteristics differing greatly from the majority population are small.

In Britain again, the dominating groups of immigrants are of West Indian and Asian origins, which accounts for a wide variety of cultural differences. Another contributory factor might be that there is greater awareness in this field in Britain generally. Historically Britain has been more international than Sweden. Traditionally firm links have existed between Britain and former countries of the Empire or the Commonwealth.

13.4 NATIONAL MINORITIES AND BILINGUALISM

The official status of the Welsh language has improved. The local authorities have tried to make parents and pupils interested. The Schools Council has run a bilingual education project for nine years on a broad basis with many classes involved. The results have been encouraging. No evidence has been found that the bilingual education programme had negative effects on the general intellectual development and the performances in the basic subjects of the pupils.

Already in 1963 local authorities in Wales were recommended by the Minister for Welsh Affairs (cf. p. 86) to adopt a policy whereby in the early school-years the language of education should be the mother tongue, and that gradually English or Welsh should be introduced. In the current policy document Education in Schools (1978) the use of Welsh in education is strongly advocated and it is stated there that neither the inclusion of Welsh in the curriculum or the use of Welsh as the medium of instruction has had negative effects on general progress.

A similar development can be observed in Sweden as regards the Lapps and their language in education. The Lapps are a small minority group in Sweden but there is co-operation between the Lapps in the three neighbouring countries: Norway, Finland and Sweden. Since 1962 there are special schools where Lappish is the medium of instruction. These schools have the same curriculum as other Swedish schools but Lappish culture and traditions should be emphasized. If Lappish children are sent to regular schools they are entitled to have education in their mother tongue according to the same rules as immigrant pupils have. This is an example of how the arrival of immigrants has helped to improve the education of national minorities.

One group of children, existing in both countries are the Gypsies. They have been referred to once before here (p. 133) in order to illustrate the different approaches in the two countries to rules and guidelines, issued by central authorities. But the Gypsies have been omitted in the case-studies. The reason for this is that their history and background are complicated and hard to describe correctly and satisfying in a study of this kind. Some comments on their language in education are as follows:

Measures have been taken in Sweden by authorities to improve the living conditions of Gypsies. Almost all Gypsies are stationary nowadays and their children go to schools where they live. The National Board of Education has allocated funds for a literacy programme for adult Gypsies for several years now. Still prejudices against them exist in the majority population.

The language of the Gypsies, Romany, has several dialects but the ones spoken in Sweden are mutually understandable. Romany has always been a spoken language. No standard orthography has yet been accepted. Most Gypsies have traditionally known how to speak both their own and the majority languages. But knowledge of Romany is decreasing, especially among young people.

The aims of the development project now launched by the National Board of Education in co-operation with representatives of the Gypsies are both linguistic and cultural. An orthography has been developed and old traditional stories are used for the texts, so that they will not be forgotten. Initially there was some reluctance to these ideas in some groups of Gypsies. The language has always been regarded as a tool for the preservation of their ethnic identity. Gypsies are reluctant to teach other people their language. But textbooks would mean access to their language for others. The first textbook is ready now and there will be more material coming.

Gypsy children are entitled to mother tongue teaching as other minority children are. In 1976 it was reported that 316 Gypsy children in the comprehensive school and 4 in the upper secondary school took part in mother tongue teaching (Statistical Reports U 1976:16, published by the National Central Bureau of Statistics, p. 10 and p. 23).

In Britain the Schools Council published a research report in 1975 on the education of Gypsies (Reiss, 1975). They use the wider concept of travelling children, as canalboat and fairground children were also included. The background of the project was a general concern both of authorities and the public that so many Gypsy children never had any education.

The purpose of the project was to help teachers by providing information about the social background, culture and educational needs of Gypsy children. Advice has been given on methods and materials which could be appropriate. Experience showed that Gypsy children attended schools irregularly and that probably a very high percentage of the children did not go to school at all, according to the report. The researcher stated that the basic situation of the Gypsy children had not changed since the Plowden report (Children and their Primary Schools, 1967). It is stated there in volume 2 as a conclusion of a survey:

> "Of the 6,000 Gypsy children in England only a small minority is attending school. These are the children living a relatively settled existence, a considerable proportion on sites provided by local authorities. Even when attending school regularly these children have to contend with a severe environmental handicap. The number of Gypsy children is likely to double in the next twenty years"(op.cit. p. 600).

But it is also said in the report that it is a myth that all Gypsies are illiterate and fail to attend school. A handful of lawyers, politicians and university teachers have come from of the more settled Gypsy families.

According to the Schools Council report the great majority of the Gypsies speak Anglo-Romany. Teachers will have little evidence that they can do so, even if that language is used in their homes. Anglo-Romany is today only a vocabulary to be used for substituting English words in English sentences, which means that it is only a lexical language and has lost its syntactical structure. But this is only a hypothesis, as it is a secret language. Gypsies do not agree on the use of their language in the class-room. Most of them tend to think that teachers cannot use any word at all in a language they are forbidden to know. And it is most strongly emphasized in the report: "On no account should teachers be the first to introduce Anglo-Romany" (Reiss, 1975, p. 183).

It would seem that there are similar views in the two countries on the languages of two national minorities: the Welsh and the Lapps. Bilingualism is advocated and special resources are allocated for bilingual education programmes and also for development of teaching materials in the languages. But for the Gypsies the views are different. In Sweden the teaching of Romany is looked upon in the same way as other mother tongue teaching, whereas British teachers have been advised not even to try to use the language, as it should be restricted to the Gypsies themselves.

13.5 POLICY EFFECTS - RESEARCH IMPLICATIONS

13.5.1 Background

Education of minorities in Britain and Sweden has been supported by policy documents, policy decisions and policy measures taken at different levels of the education system. Such elements have been described, analysed and compared in the preceding chapters. Existing similarities and differences have been pointed to. From a macro-perspective it is difficult to discover to what extent policies have been put into practice and what effects they have achieved. One way of approaching this problem would be to look at research results available in the field.

As regards both countries it seems true that few research results in the field of immigration appeared before the middle of the 1960s. The main reason for this is that immigration had been so limited that hardly any research projects had been initiated. No authorities had yet found it necessary to launch any research projects as a basis for future policy decisions in this field. In Sweden more interest was focused on emigration than on immigration, which can be observed by a large research project carried out at the University of Uppsala about emigration from Sweden to America (Runblom and Norman, 1976).

By the middle of the 1960s, however, immigration had become extensive and gradually research projects were launched. In both countries it seems obvious that, in those early years, working and housing conditions for immigrants were major research themes, whereas research in education appeared later. In Sweden a study (Svedner, 1973) was focused on how different arrangements worked which were aimed at helping immigrants to adjust to Swedish society. The immigrant groups studied in the project had arrived in Malmö during the first years of the 1960s and had come from several countries. The report dealt with problems of prejudices, discrimination and segregation experienced by immigrants. This project may serve as an example of several projects on assimilation problems, carried out during this period.

In Britain an agency called Political and Economic Planning (PEP) made a survey of racial discrimination in 1966. It included problems of work and accomodation and was carried out among Asians, West Indians and Cypriots in

six places. The report (Daniel 1968) showed that racial minority groups were discriminated when seeking job and housing. They tended to live in poor accomodation and to do jobs that were below the level of their qualification.

13.5.2 Research in Education

In the 1970s various aspects of immigration were taken into account in research projects in both countries. By support of resources from the National Board of Education in Sweden research projects have also been initiated in the educational field. They have focused on the linguistic development of immigrants, bilingualism and different organizational models for language education. As much reform work and considerable resources have been devoted to language education, research projects have been launched in order to follow up the effects of this educational programme. Studies have been carried out to elucidate the relationships between developing the mother tongue and learning the majority language. They point to the advantages of an extensive language programme. In a survey of educational research, financed by the National Board of Education (SÖ:s forsknings- och utvecklingsarbete avseende invandrare och språkliga minoriteter, 1978) findings from a number of linguistic studies predominate. A few on socialisation and identity formation among immigrants are also mentioned there.

Politicians and authorities seem to have realized that the situation of the immigrants makes heavy demands on the Swedish society. An agency, The Swedish Commission on Immigration Research, was set up in 1975 within the Ministry of Labour to develop and co-ordinate immigration research. A number of projects have been carried out by the Commission. After comprehensive preparatory work the Commission has started a research project to investigate the long-term effects of immigration. It started at the end of 1979, will continue until 1982 and will concentrate on the conditions of the second generation of immigrants. Representatives of several academic disciplines, e.g. economics, sociology, social anthropology and sociolinguistics are taking part.

There are no significant research findings available in Sweden concerning the educational performances of immigrant children compared to those of majority children. In a survey of immigration research in Sweden (Hammar and Lindby, 1979) no such research is mentioned. Some data have here been accounted for (Chapter 13, p. 150). According to these data linguistic knowledge plays an important role for decisions by immigrant pupils on

education above the compulsory level. Immigrants with poor linguistic knowledge tend to leave education earlier than those with a stable linguistic background.

In a paper submitted to the Home Secretary (Educational Needs of Children from Minority Groups, reprinted in 1979) results from systematic research and experience in multi-racial schools in Britain are reported. The paper has been published by the Commission for Racial Equality. The Commission points to the deficient ability of the education system to meet the needs and aspirations of minority groups. Minority children show poor performances compared to the indigeneous pupils. Especially the pupils with a West Indian background cause concern. Three tables, given on pages 18 and 19 illustrate the underperformance of immigrant children.

Table 26. Performance of pupils on transfer to secondary school - percentage of pupils in upper and lower quartiles

	English		Mathematics		Verbal reasoning	
	Upper	Lower	Upper	Lower	Upper	Lower
Theoretical	25.0	25.0	25.0	25.0	25.0	25.0
Non-Immigrant	25.0	23.0	23.0	26.0	20.0	29.0
Immigrant	8.0	53.0	8.0	54.0	7.0	59.0
Immigrants fully educated here	12.4	38.0	12.0	42.0	10.0	46.0
Immigrants partly educated here	5.5	62.0	6.0	61.0	5.0	67.0

The source of this table given in the paper by the Commission for Racial Equality has been an unpublished analysis of all ILEA* pupils transferring to secondary schools. It shows quite clearly the gap in performance between the children from an ethnic minority background and the indigeneous pupil. Instead of one in four being placed in the upper quartile, one in twelve was. At the other end of the performance spectrum instead of one in four, we find more than one in two. Even the group of pupils fully educated in the United Kingdom were underperforming: roughly 12 per cent in the upper quartile, instead of 25 per cent.

* ILEA = Inner London Education Authority

Table 27. Percentage of pupils fully educated in Britain placed in Upper Quartile on transfer to secondary school

	English	Mathematics	Verbal reasoning
West Indian origin	9.2	7.4	7.2
Asian origin	19.3	20.2	21.1
Indigenous	25.0	22.9	19.8

The table indicates that Asians fully educated in Britain are performing at a level comparable with the indigenous population. Pupils from West Indian backgrounds are not performing at that level. No differences could be found between those born in Britain, arriving very young, or having full education there. For example 9.1 per cent of West Indians born in Britain were placed in the upper quartile for English, 9 per cent of those arriving very young and 9.4 per cent of those entering at school entry age. Similar results were obtained for mathematics and verbal reasoning. The same observations can be made about Asian pupils.

Table 28. Mean reading score of pupils in schools with varying percentages of pupils from minority backgrounds

% Minority	United Kingdom	West Indian	Indian	Pakistani
0	99.0	88.1	90.5	90.7
1.1	97.7			
10.1	95.3	89.1	90.2	92.1
20.1	95.7	87.3	89.8	94.3
30.1	94.4	87.4	89.6	87.3
40.1	96.5	88.0	89.9	-
50.1	93.7	87.6	87.9	-
60.1	88.9	84.7	-	-

Source: ILEA Literacy Survey

The table indicates that the performance of minority group pupils is not influenced by the precentage of the indigenous population in the school. Further, although there is some indication that indigenous pupils do better in primary schools with under 10 per cent minority pupils, the analysis completed in the study shows that this is because of their own social class background and not because of the ethnic structure of the school.

The Commission for Racial Equality suggested various measures in the paper in order to improve the results. The under-performance of minority children, especially of a West Indian background, is still a major concern in Britain as is the high percentage of young West Indians who are unemployed. The last lines of the paper (p. 17) is a heavy criticism of the education system:

> "The main point of this paper is to suggest that the existing educational system, its schools, staffing, curriculum and methods must be modified by policy makers and those who are professionally concerned to meet the needs of pupils from minority backgrounds. What we are arguing is that educational policy has failed to respond to the legitimate needs of the black population. Similar observations can be made about the inflexibility of other areas of social policy which have also failed to adjust practice to meet changing needs "(op.cit. p. 17).

Chapter 14 Discussion of Outcomes

14.1 COMPARABILITY OF THE TWO POLICIES

Are the British and the Swedish policies for minority education comparable? Going back to Noah's and Eckstein's methodological approach of "controlled investigations (p. 11) and the reliance of this approach on what they call "comparable situations" we find the following:

- In both countries immigrant policies have built on the assumption that the immigrants have come to stay. They have not been treated as a temporary phenomenon as is the case in many other countries.

- The period of time when the two linguistically and culturally homogeneous countries have become multi-cultural by immigration is after the Second World War. It started a little earlier in Britain and regulations to diminish immigration were imposed earlier in Britain than in Sweden.

- The concentration of immigrant pupils in major industrial districts and within these to certain less attractive areas creates the same kind of problems in both countries.

- Both countries have well developed school systems with compulsory education of pupils to the age of 16. The British system is more decentralized and diversified than the Swedish system.

- Both countries have national minorities for whom an educational policy has been developed.

- In both countries immigration has to a great extent been balanced by emigration.

Whether two things are comparable or not, in this case the policies for minority education in two countries, is very much a matter of judgement. To be comparable the policies must have some degree of similarity in

background and origin. These, according to what we have found from recent history of immigration in Europe, seem to exist. There are "comparable situations" in terms of time, kind, reasons and amount of immigration in the two countries.

14.2 SIMILARITIES OF THE TWO POLICIES

If we procede from comparabilities in background and circumstances for a policy to the very formation of such a policy we find that certain overt expressions are similar but also that other expressions differ. Important similarities are:

- In both countries responsible authorities were initially rather unaware of the fact that specific measures ought to be taken to support immigrant children in education.

- Current policy has developed gradually and is under continuous review in both countries.

- Special resorurces are now available in both countries for immigrant education.

- The acquisition of the major language has been emphasized in both countries, even if the problem was observed earlier in Britain.

- There are university courses in both countries for English and Swedish respectively as a second language to train teachers of immigrant children.

- There is central and local support in both countries for bilingualism among the national minorities - the Welsh and the Lapps.

- During the initial stage the authorities in both countries encouraged immigration and only later did they realize the implications for the education system.

- Housing and working conditions for immigrants were taken into account earlier than educational needs.

14.3 DIFFERENCES IN THE TWO POLICIES

If the background and the circumstances of policies for minority education have many and substantial similarities, it is not surprising that the policy formation have similarities of the kind we found. It is more interesting to notice that policies in certain respects come out differently, in spite of communality in background. Major differences of British and Swedish policies for immigrant education are the following:

- There is a wider variety of arrangements for immigrant pupils in Britain than in Sweden due to local autonomy.

- Resources for immigrant education are relatively more limited in Britain than in Sweden.

- Both countries have received immigrants from many different countries but in the British policy most interest has been focused on immigrants from the West Indies and the Indian subcontinent.

- The role of the mother tongue in education is a major issue in Sweden and all children are entitled to mother tongue teaching, whereas in Britain this has not been the case. The mother tongue has normally not been included in the curriculum, but a few projects have started recently. The EEC Directive concerning mother tongue teaching for migrant workers' children has caused discussion.

- Multi-cultural aspects of education for all children have been more emphasized in Britain than in Sweden.

- Gypsy children are entitled to mother tongue teaching in Sweden like other minority children, but in Britain teachers have been recommended not to use Romany words in the classroom.

14.4 WHY DIFFERENCES?

The major aim of a comparative study of this kind is to find ways and means of the handling of problems related to immigration. Different countries apply different policies for solving problems that might superficially look the same. Our major interest here concerns the differences in policy formation and policy execution. Should the differences be referred to the

goals and aims of the immigrant policy enforcement, used in the countries, only? And if the goals and aims are different, do the differences depend on the fact that the immigrant problems are different in Britain and Sweden?

The answers to these questions, as far as they can be found by the help of available materials on policies for immigrant education, have been pointed to in the preceding parts of this survey. Some factors of importance for the differences have been dealt with in different situations in the survey. But as they are vital for the understanding of immigrant policy problems in the two countries, I would like to summarize and systematize them here:

1. The differences between the immigrants and the majority population in physical characteristics are more obvious in Britain than in Sweden. This accounts for the tendency in Britain to treat immigrant policy issues as race relations problems. As can be seen from statistics on page 91 immigrants from India, Pakistan and the West Indies account for about half the number of immigrants since 1950. In Sweden the physical differences are less obvious but they are far from always possible to disregard.

2. The differences of languages have become more conspicuous in Sweden than in Britain and dealt with as an important aspect of policies for minority education. It is important for the immigrants in Sweden to learn Swedish, and it is regarded as equally important for them to maintain their mother tongues as a basis for their personal and cultural identity. But this does not mean that they do not need knowledge of a world language, as all other members of the Swedish society. So English is a compulsory subject for them as it is for other pupils. In Britain the majority language and the world language coincide. It has always been regarded as very important that the immigrants learn English as fast and thoroughly as possible. But English can be used as a medium in most situations both in the country and outside it. So it is understandable if people in Britain are less open to other languages and their roles in education than people are in Sweden. This is a situation which naturally influences the attitudes towards teaching and learning of the mother tongues of the immigrants.

3. A third important difference together with the two just mentioned - differences in the racial characteristics of the two immigrant populations and differences in the status of the two majority languages -

in the policies of minority education is the history of the two countries and within this the relationships between the mother country of the majority and the countries which the immigrants come from. For centuries Britain has had contacts with other countries, other peoples and other cultures, which has not been the case with Sweden or at least to a much lesser degree. We should then, however, remember that these relationships with other nations in the case of Britain have almost exclusively been influenced by the role of the country as a colonial power, as a nation which regarded itself as politically and culturally superior and as a nation which could demand adaptation and surrender from its counterparts.

4. A fourth and equally important reason for the differences in the policies for minority education is due to the fact that Britain and Sweden have on the whole different educational traditions. Differences of traditions exist on several levels like the role of the state in the educational system and the existence of private schools. These make segregation of pupils from different social classes more evident than in a system with almost exclusively state schools. But of importance for the implementation of immigrant policies are above all the differences in the relations between central and local decision making bodies and administrative agencies. Britain has traditionally a more marked local autonomy in education than Sweden.

There is a tendency in a devolved education system that local policy patterns develop so differently that the national policy, expressed in parliamentary decisions, is put at stake. A trend towards policies for minority education on a supernational level has been observed in the EEC Directive on education of migrant workers' children. As most countries in Europe are involved either in immigration or emigration it is probable that this trend will continue to develop.

There has been no intention to try to discuss the advantages or disadvantages of immigrant education policy in the two countries in order to make a kind of balance list. The aim has been to acquire deeper knowledge and understanding of the policies which have been analyzed, similarities and differences between the countries and the reasons for these. Knowledge of policy making and means for problem solving might be tools for future policy development.

14.5 ADDITIONAL COMMENTS

Some concluding remarks on what constitutes a minority policy in education are appropriate. Such a policy is closely connected with the role the minority groups are expected to play in the future. Are they supposed by the majority population to adapt themselves to the norms and values of their host society and allow themselves to be fully assimilated into it? Or would the majority groups allow the minorities to be integrated on their own terms so that they can maintain their own culture and their own language? How is cultural pluralism regarded by the majority group? And what do the minority groups think about their own cultures and languages? Certain languages are more prestigious than others. Languages like Spanish and Italian will undoubtedly be valuable outside the minority communities on the labour market. But languages like Turkish and Punjabi are likely to be restricted to use within the minority group, unless people go back to their countries of origin. Parents of such children might be diffident of mother tongue teaching as they might think that good knowledge of the majority language is all that matters in the competition for further education and employment. Opinions and values within minority cultures also differ between the first, the second and later generations of immigrants.

The attitudes shown by individual members of the majority society as well as by political parties, trade unions and other associations are important for the personal and social adjustment of minorities. But these attitudes find their concrete expressions in the way immigrant issues are treated by responsible authorities. A policy, however progressively it is formulated, is not worth anything unless it is shown in factual measures. The implementation of a national policy might be judged both by the legislation and the resources allocated to enforce it. Politicians must back up demands for adequate resources to prove that there is a positive will behind what may be the fair words of party programmes.

The way in which civil servants and local administration officers fulfil their responsibilities is also decisive for the implementation of a minority policy in education. A policy is not only printed documents with goals and aims but the whole range of practical decisions at all levels in order to make it work. A positive attitude held by majority people is the strongest support to carrying it out. This seems to be especially important within an education system, which is to a certain degree an organization but first and foremost a set of relationships between people. That is why

education can play an important role in the development of harmonious relations between majority and minority groups. It might be an instrument for tolerance and understanding. This should be a two-way process: both majority and minority groups in education should have the opportunity to develop such attitudes as can remove hostility, fear and ignorance of the other group.

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